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Worldwide Report

ARMS CONTROL

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WORLDWIDE REPORT

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GENERAL

USSR: U.S. DISARMAMENT STAND AT 1984 UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY HIT

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3,
Mar 85 (signed to press 13 Feb 85) pp 18-28

[Article by Yu. Tomilin: "Averting the Nuclear Danger--Priority Task"]

[Text] The UN General Assembly 39th Session was conducted under conditions of continuing international tension, the transition of the arms race to increasingly high levels and the increased nuclear threat. True, as distinct from the preceding 3 years, Washington officials have changed the key of their declarations markedly: teeth-gnashing tirades have come to be replaced by words concerning the need for a "resumption of dialogue" and the solution of arms limitation questions. The words have changed, but the deeds remain the same.

The new MX and Midgetman intercontinental missiles, the nuclear submarine and missiles of the Trident system, the B-1B and Stealth new strategic bombers and air-, sea- and ground-based long-range cruise missiles are being built or are already being deployed. The United States' nuclear cellar is full to the brim. But this does not appear to be enough for the Pentagon. It is planned by 1990 to have increased the strategic potential to 20,000 nuclear warheads.

Modernization of the "forward-based" nuclear missiles is under way simultaneously. The so-called "Eurostrategic" nuclear arsenal, reducing the time of a surprise attack, is being created by way of the deployment of new missiles in Europe. Full-scale production of neutron weapons, which are intended basically for Europe, has begun.

The qualitative specifications of the latest nuclear arms being deployed by the United States--accuracy, yield, reduced approach time and concealment of approach (and, consequently, the surprise nature of the strike) and rapidity of targeting and retargeting--all this testifies to preparations for a nuclear first strike. The same is indicated by the active work on creating a wide-ranging ABM system designed to put up an "impenetrable shield" and ensure for the United States the possibility for delivering such a strike with minimal losses from a retaliatory strike.

As can be seen from the plans announced in the United States, particularly from President R. Reagan's speech in April 1983, it is contemplated deploying in space antimissile weapons and a variety of antisatellite systems and supernew types of weapons intended for delivering strikes against targets on the ground,

in the air and at sea. Preparations are under way for the creation of the latest types of weapons for operations in space and from space in respect of the Earth--laser and beam weapons. A special space command has been formed. A joint space center for controlling military operations in space is being installed. A military astrodome for Shuttle-type multiple-use craft is being built.

A reality of our era is such that the nuclear danger threatens not only the states directly involved in nuclear confrontation but all countries and peoples without exception and human civilization itself. The existence of such a danger was emphasized particularly by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar in a special disarmament statement which he delivered at the session on 12 December 1984.

The overwhelming majority of delegations expressed serious concern for the fate of peace. Thus Mirdha, Indian minister of state for foreign affairs, declared: "The danger of the complete annihilation of mankind, more, of all life on our planet is so great and is growing so inexorably and rapidly that we cannot permit ourselves the luxury of a display of indifference or giving way to despair."*

It is perfectly understandable that it is essential for all countries, whatever the differences in their size, development conditions, geographical location and social system, to unite efforts to counteract the common threat. At the same time it is clear that the main role is performed here by the states which possess nuclear weapons. It was this that was pointed out by, for example, Finnish Foreign Minister P. Vayrynen, who declared at the session: "The international community has a right to expect that the nuclear states, which bear the main responsibility for disarmament, will engage in decisive actions to halt and turn back the nuclear arms buildup."**

The Soviet delegation emphasized at the session that the USSR, as a nuclear power, fully recognizes its responsibility for the fate of peace and acts accordingly. The possession of nuclear weapons cannot be regarded as some kind of privilege and a kind of ticket to a "club of the elite". It imposes merely a burden of responsibility for ensuring that mankind not stumble and not be cast into a nuclear abyss and makes it incumbent upon it to strive for the limitation and elimination of nuclear weapons.

Proceeding from this, the Soviet Union proposed that relations between the nuclear powers be subject to certain rules and that agreement be reached among them on the joint recognition of such rules and the imparting to them of an obligatory nature.

For its part, the USSR is making every effort to prevent nuclear war, limit arms and implement disarmament measures.

* "Protocols of UN General Assembly Sessions," Document A/39/PV, 10, p 77.

** Ibid., Document A/39/PV, 6, pp 28-30.

However, with the support of its closest allies the United States is operating in the opposite direction. This is the reason for the present complex situation in the world. From the platform of the 39th Session U.S. President R. Reagan declared the United States' readiness "for constructive negotiations with the Soviet Union." Commenting on these words in replies to questions put by THE WASHINGTON POST, K.U. Chernenko observed: "If what the President said concerning the readiness for negotiations is not simply a tactical move, I would like to state that the Soviet Union will not hold things up. We have always been ready for serious, businesslike negotiations and have declared this repeatedly."*

The news that the USSR and the United States had agreed to embark on new negotiations to achieve mutually acceptable accords on the entire set of questions concerning nuclear and space arms gave rise to widespread positive comment at the session.

At the center of attention of the session were questions connected with averting nuclear war. The initiative presented by the Soviet Union: on the use of space solely for peaceful purposes and the good of mankind and the impermissibility of a policy of state terrorism and any actions by states aimed at undermining the sociopolitical system in other sovereign states contributed to this to a large extent. Examination of the new Soviet proposals promoted the efforts of the majority of states in support of a restoration of trust and normalization of the international atmosphere and the creation of political-legal and material barriers in the way of the military threat.

It was not the first time that the Soviet Union had presented initiatives aimed at preventing the militarization of space. It had already drawn up two draft treaties on this score in 1981 and 1983. The new Soviet step is a continuation of the consistent policy of averting an arms race in space and eliminating the threat of nuclear war.

Understandably, the militarization of space, if we do not succeed in stopping it in good time, will swallow up vast material and intellectual resources and create insurmountable barriers to international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of space and use of the results of scientific-technical progress in this sphere for peaceful needs.

The USSR has proposed that the General Assembly proclaim as the historic responsibility of all states the guarantee that the exploration of space be undertaken solely for peaceful purposes, for the good of mankind and recommends the implementation of specific measures to achieve this goal.

It is now more important than ever that the exclusion of space from the sphere of the arms race be a strict rule of states' policy and a generally recognized international obligation and that all channels of the militarization of space without exception be reliably closed off. It is a question of ensuring that no kind of assault weapons--conventional, nuclear, laser, beam or any other--

* PRAVDA, 18 October 1984.

be put into space or deployed there, whether on manned or unmanned systems. The USSR delegation explained that in accordance with the Soviet proposal it is precisely assault space weapons which would be banned, while resources used for monitoring, navigation, communications and so forth purposes would not be affected.

Space weapons of all types of basing must not be created, tested or deployed for antimissile defense, as antisatellite weapons or for use against targets on the ground or in the air. Such weapons which have already been built must be destroyed. The use of force in space and from space in respect of the Earth and also from Earth in respect of facilities in space must be banned for all time. In other words, the USSR has proposed an accord on a radical solution of the question of preventing the militarization of space--the banning and liquidation of assault space arms and also all ground-, air- or sea-based weapons intended for hitting targets in space.

The draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union proposes that the United Nations raise its voice in support of the speediest achievement by means of negotiations of the appropriate reliably verifiable agreements on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

The new Soviet initiative is aimed at a comprehensive solution of the problem of the guaranteed prevention of the militarization of space and the guaranteed opportunity on this basis for its peaceful exploration and use and also the unification of states' efforts in this sphere, including the creation in the future of a world organization for the use of space for people's benefit. Its realization would be of tremendous significance for the progress of mankind under conditions of lasting peace.

The Soviet initiative attracted the broad attention of the participants in the session. It contributed to the concentration of states' attention on the task of averting nuclear war and curbing the arms race and preventing its spread to space. The basic ideas of the Soviet proposal were commented upon extensively in the speeches of a large number of delegations of nonaligned and also certain Western states, which recognized the dangerous consequences which the militarization of space would have. In the course of the debate many countries, including India, Sri Lanka, Mali, Nigeria and Greece, criticized the American plans to build space-based ABM systems, seeing in them a danger of a destabilization of the strategic situation.

Delegations of nonaligned countries drew attention particularly to the fact that an arms race in space would swallow up tremendous resources and create obstacles to international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of space. They supported the USSR's proposals concerning the adoption of effective measures and negotiations to prevent such a race.

The United States and its closest allies endeavored to prevent the formulation of a decision providing for the adoption of specific steps in the said direction. However, in spite of their actions, the Assembly approved a resolution formulated by the nonaligned states with the active participation of the Soviet Union which reflected the basic propositions and essence of the Soviet initiative.

For the first time the UN decision enshrined the need for states to renounce the threat or the use of force in their space activity. It contains an appeal to the USSR and the United States and also the Disarmament Conference to begin negotiations for the purpose of concluding agreements on preventing an arms race in space. The interconnection of the tasks of preventing the militarization of space and ensuring its use for peaceful purposes is emphasized.

Ultimately the Western allies of the United States supported the resolution, thereby openly dissociating themselves from Washington's obstructionist line. Under these conditions the United States did not dare oppose the resolution as a whole and abstained during the voting, finding itself completely isolated. It demanded here a separate vote on the clause of the resolution according to which it is proposed that the Geneva Disarmament Committee embark on multilateral negotiations for averting an arms race in space and voted against this clause, again finding itself completely isolated.

Another major initiative of the USSR--concerning the impermissibility of a policy of state terrorism--was also approved at the session. The General Assembly resolution adopted at the Soviet Union's suggestion emphatically condemns the policy and practice of state terrorism in interstate relations. The United States and its allies did not support it, thereby actually demonstrating that state terrorism is a part of their foreign policy.

The American occupation of Grenada, the United States' undeclared war against Nicaragua and its interference in the affairs of other Central American countries were noted with condemnation during the examination at the session of situations in individual parts of the world--as manifestations of the policy and practice of state terrorism. A number of General Assembly decisions plainly characterizes the aggressive actions of the Israeli expansionists and Pretoria's racist regime as manifestations of state terrorism.

The majority of participants in the session welcomed both Soviet proposals, whose implementation would contribute to protecting the sovereignty and security of all states, regardless of their sociopolitical system and economic and scientific-technical development levels.

The session emphatically supported the realization of a whole set of measures aimed at preventing nuclear war.

The nuclear powers' assumption, as the Soviet Union has already done, of the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons could be an important measure. The USSR believes that commitments on this score could be assumed unilaterally by each state possessing nuclear weapons. This would be the quickest way, not requiring special negotiations and agreements. At the same time the USSR delegation declared that the Soviet Union was also ready for the nuclear powers' commitments concerning no first use of nuclear weapons, as certain nonaligned countries proposed at the last General Assembly session, to be enshrined in a uniform document of an international-legal nature, for example, in a convention. The USSR also supported a proposal of the nonaligned countries concerning the conclusion of a convention with the participation of all the nuclear powers banning the use of nuclear weapons.

The majority of nonaligned countries acted from similar positions as a whole. Many of them noted the significance of the commitment assumed by the USSR not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and called on the other nuclear states to follow this example. The United States and its allies, which are propagandizing all kinds of doctrines and concepts of nuclear war, were sharply condemned by a number of developing countries. The nonaligned countries also criticized their position at the Disarmament Conference, where the United States and certain other NATO countries are impeding the start of negotiations on preventing nuclear war.

Although they attempted to conceal their lack of desire to tackle specific tasks in the sphere of preventing nuclear war with pseudo-peacemaking rhetoric, the United States and its partners simultaneously endeavored to foist on the Assembly their concepts of "security" and strategic doctrines based on nuclear deterrence and designed to legalize first use of nuclear weapons. These attempts were, however, rejected by the session.

A resolution was adopted on the initiative of the GDR and Cuba which characterizes the USSR's commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons as an important step on the way to lessening the danger of nuclear war and expresses the hope that the other nuclear states also will make similar declarations. In addition, it contains the recommendation that the Disarmament Conference examine the question of the elaboration of an international document of a legally binding nature which would formulate the commitment on no first use of nuclear weapons.

The concern of many states at the growth of the nuclear threat was also reflected in a resolution approved on India's initiative which contains recommendations that the Disarmament Committee embark on negotiations for the conclusion of a convention banning the use of nuclear weapons with the participation of all nuclear powers. The same concern also permeates the resolution on preventing nuclear war (adopted at the suggestion of Argentina), which recommends that the Disarmament Committee begin negotiations to achieve an agreement on the appropriate practical measures for the solution of this problem. The Soviet Union supported both resolutions.

The General Assembly discussed the question of a nuclear arms freeze (it had been put forward at the 38th Session at the USSR's initiative). The overwhelming majority of countries, which see a freeze as an important measure leading to a curbing of the race in nuclear arms and their reduction and ultimately complete liquidation, advocated the speediest settlement thereof.

A joint declaration of the heads of state and government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden of 22 May 1984 addressed to all the nuclear powers was broadly supported at the session. The Soviet delegation confirmed the USSR's positive attitude toward this document, at the center of which is an appeal for a halt to the continued buildup of nuclear arms, a freezing of arsenals thereof and an immediate start on appreciable reductions therein. A quantitative and qualitative freeze of nuclear arms by all states which possess them would ensure a favorable atmosphere, having raised the level of trust between states.

Only the United States and its closest allies opposed the idea of a nuclear arms freeze. Their position was evaluated by the majority of UN members as evidence of Washington's intention of continuing the arms race. Three resolutions were adopted on the freeze issue. The resolution proposed by the socialist countries contains an appeal to all nuclear states to freeze their nuclear arms globally as of a certain date and given appropriate supervision. The two other resolutions move in this direction also. One of them, adopted on India's initiative, calls on all states possessing nuclear weapons to consent to a freeze thereof "which would provide, inter alia, for the simultaneous complete halt to any further production of nuclear weapons and a complete halt to the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes." In the other, the draft of which was prepared by Mexico and Sweden, the appeal for a nuclear arms freeze is addressed primarily to the USSR and the United States, as the two biggest nuclear states. The resolution emphasizes that the "existing conditions are the most favorable for such a freeze inasmuch as the USSR and the United States currently dispose of equal nuclear military power and, as would seem obvious, there is general approximate parity between them."

The Soviet Union supported all the freeze resolutions.

Recognizing that the threat of nuclear war exists at the present level of military confrontation also, the USSR does not, of course, consider a freeze and end in itself. However, having put a stop to the nuclear arms race, this step would decisively facilitate the achievement of subsequent accords on a reduction in such arms, as far as their complete liquidation.

The complete and general banning of nuclear weapon tests could be a highly palpable impediment to the nuclear arms race. Were there no tests, such weapons would not be perfected. A barrier would thereby be erected to the further polishing and creation of new types and systems of nuclear weapons and their varieties and their quantitative stockpiling and, consequently, to the continued growth of the nuclear threat. Back at the General Assembly 37th Session of the Soviet Union proposed a draft treaty which takes account of the degree of consent achieved in the course of discussion at the tripartite negotiations on this problem and also the considerations and desires expressed by many states, on questions of supervision included. For the purpose of creating more favorable conditions for its development the Soviet Union proposes that all states possessing nuclear weapons declare a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, as of a date agreed among them through the conclusion of the treaty. It supports a resumption of the tripartite negotiations between the USSR, the United States and Britain on a complete ban on nuclear weapon tests, which were unilaterally suspended by the United States in 1980.

The resolution adopted at the suggestion of the socialist states calls on the Disarmament Conference to immediately embark on negotiations for the formulation of a treaty banning nuclear weapon tests by all states and for this purpose for the creation of a special committee with a negotiating mandate. A similar appeal was also contained in the resolution adopted on the initiative of Mexico and Sweden (the USSR supported this resolution).

Australia, New Zealand and a number of other countries of the South Pacific condemned the nuclear weapons tests carried out by France in the said part of the world. However, a resolution prepared by these states in coauthorship with a number of Western countries contained nothing which would have facilitated a solution of the problem. On the contrary, the resolution leads in a direction away from negotiations which could lead to the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general banning of nuclear weapons tests. At the same time, however, it proposes the creation of a mechanism for monitoring nuclear explosions divorced from the elaboration of a future agreement on banning nuclear weapons tests.

Understandably, the delegations of the USSR, other socialist states and a whole number of nonaligned countries (Mexico, Nigeria, Argentina, India and others) were unable to support this resolution. It is curious that it was not to the liking of the United States either, but for a directly opposite reason: it rejects everything which contains a hint at a halt to nuclear weapons tests (even in the most indeterminate form). The United States (together with Britain and France) abstained during the voting on this resolution.

A most important area of the struggle against the threat of nuclear war is preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The spread of nuclear weapons over the planet and their appearance in areas of higher-than-usual military danger would lead to a sharp destabilization of the situation in the world, a growth of the nuclear threat and an intensification of the nuclear arms race. The nuclear aspirations of such countries as South Africa, Israel and Pakistan represent a serious danger in this respect. Importance is attached currently to the preparations for the third conference to examine the effect of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, which will take place in September 1985. A resolution on an IAEA report emphasized the role of the latter in ensuring nonproliferation, particularly in connection with the Nonproliferation Treaty.

The creation of nuclear-free zones would contribute to a strengthening of international security and a consolidation of the practice of nonproliferation. The USSR delegation confirmed that the USSR was and remains a consistent supporter of the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, particularly in North Europe and the Balkans, the Near East and in Africa, and adopts a positive attitude toward Sweden's proposal for the creation in Europe of a zone free of battlefield nuclear weapons both sides of the line of contact of the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. The proposal that a nuclear-free zone be created, as some countries are suggesting, in the South Pacific, also merits positive treatment.

Of course, as long as there are nuclear weapons in the world the possibility of a nuclear catastrophe will persist. For this reason a policy of a reduction of nuclear arms as far as their elimination in all varieties should today even be a rule of behavior of states possessing such weapons.

Neutron weapons are one such variety. The question of the formulation of a convention banning the production, stockpiling, deployment and use thereof has for many years been raised at the Disarmament Conference by the Soviet Union

and other socialist countries. A special resolution adopted on the initiative of the GDR and other socialist states proposes that the conference finally embark on negotiations for the speediest solution of this question.

Of course, nor could the Assembly have overlooked the problem of the complete destruction of nuclear weapons. The path toward this lies through the formulation of a program of stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament which would provide for a gradual reduction in the stockpiles of nuclear arms as far as their complete liquidation and, within this framework, the achievement of accords on a halt to the development of new nuclear weapon systems and the production of fissionable material for the creation of various types thereof and a halt to the production of nuclear warheads and their delivery systems. A resolution adopted on the initiative of the socialist states proposes that the Disarmament Committee embark on negotiations for the elaboration of such a program. In the course of the discussion the Soviet delegation explained that when elaborating the nuclear disarmament measures it would be necessary to agree on the appropriate methods and forms of supervision which would satisfy the parties concerned and contribute to the effective realization of the agreements reached. The experience of the supervisory activity of the IAEA and its possibilities could, in particular, be used for monitoring nuclear disarmament measures.

At the suggestion of Argentina a resolution was adopted which recommended that the Disarmament Committee set about the elaboration of the "best possible ways of the start of multilateral negotiations" on nuclear disarmament. The USSR supported this resolution. The United States voted against both nuclear disarmament resolutions.

An important place in the Assembly's work was occupied by study of the question concerning the banning of chemical weapons. As a result of the persistent efforts of the USSR and other socialist states it has been possible at the negotiations conducted within the framework of the Disarmament Committee in recent years to achieve certain progress in the coordination of a number of major issues concerning the banning of chemical weapons, and the prospect of the conclusion of an appropriate international convention has been revealed. The Soviet Union has repeatedly presented constructive proposals aimed at the achievement of accords. The blame for the fact that the negotiations on the banning of chemical weapons have not yet led to the achievement of an accord lies with the United States. Gambling on a further buildup of chemical arsenals and the production of new types of such weapons, binary weapons in particular, the U.S. Administration is pursuing an obstructionist policy, creating increasingly new blockages in the way of a solution of the question. It is this unseemly aim which is pursued by the draft convention submitted by the United States to the Disarmament Committee in April 1984, it having been drawn up such as to render it knowingly unacceptable. This draft extricates from prohibition primarily the use for military purposes of herbicides and also irritants in armed and other conflicts, that is, precisely the toxic chemicals which the United States once employed extensively during the aggression in Vietnam.

Inspection based on a "standing invitation" is proposed as a "new word" in questions of supervision. Upon disclosure, however, of this euphonious formulation it turns out that countries would have to automatically grant

within 24 hours at first demand unimpeded access to inspectors to any enterprise and any facility, irrespective of whether it is related to the production of chemical weapons, indeed, to chemical industry in general, or not. From the viewpoint of the task of banning chemical weapons there is no need for such supervision. On the other hand there is a direct danger of the discovery of military and commercial secrets unconnected with questions of the production, stockpiling and storage of chemical weapons.

In proposing this absurd system of verification the United States by no means intends extending it to itself. In accordance with the American plan, such supervision would encompass merely the enterprises "belonging to governments or controlled by governments." In other words, in the Soviet Union and the socialist states and also in countries with partially nationalized industry, where all enterprises or the majority thereof are state-owned, practically all civilian and military facilities, even those unconnected with chemical production, would be subject to supervision, while in the United States private enterprises, including major chemical corporations capable of producing the corresponding weapons, would be excluded from the sphere of supervision.

Such an approach is all the more unacceptable if the possibility of the production at private enterprises of the components of binary weapons is considered. Incidentally, the American plan glosses over altogether the question of the banning of binary weapons. Extremely dangerous supertoxic lethal chemicals, regardless of the quantities produced, furthermore, also remain practically outside of supervision if they are formally intended for peaceful purposes and not for antichemical defense.

The delegations of the USSR and other socialist countries criticized the obstructionist policy of the United States.

The approved resolutions emphasize the need for the speediest conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons, while a resolution adopted on the initiative of the socialist countries proposes in addition that countries refrain from the production and deployment of binary and other new types of chemical weapon and also from the deployment of such weapons on the territory of other states.

States, primarily those which possess nuclear weapons, are called on to play a particular part in removal of the nuclear threat and arms limitation. At the same time the public also must play its part, a significant one at that. Ensuring states' interaction with it in the interests of preventing nuclear war--such is the main goal of the World Disarmament Campaign, which began in 1982.

The UN General Assembly 39th Session examined the UN secretary general's report on the world campaign. Its successful conduct within the framework of a regional conference in Leningrad (June 1984) was noted, inter alia. The Soviet delegation advocated the continuation of such practice and proposed that a similar regional conference be held thanks to a USSR contribution to the fund of the world campaign on the territory of a Central Asian republic of the Soviet Union.

So the main direction of the activity of the United Nations, which was laid down at the time it was being founded—serving as an instrument of the preservation of international peace and security—has assumed even greater significance in our day. The interaction of the forces operating from antiwar, anticolonial positions and striving for the increased effectiveness of the United Nations, primarily in questions of strengthening peace, has broadened and strengthened. The time has long since passed when the United States and other Western powers could with the aid of an obedient voting machine foist on the organization decisions which suited them. As the 39th Session showed, the socialist community states and the nonaligned countries are united nations in the true sense of the word fully resolved to deliver mankind from the calamities of war.

And the Western countries? What part are they currently playing in the United Nations? Elements of political realism prompting them in a number of instances to associate themselves with constructive decisions are increasingly noticeable in the policy of many of them. This was the case, for example, at the time of adoption of the resolution on prevention of the militarization of space. The United States is operating from different standpoints. In 26 instances out of the 65 when at the 39th Session resolutions were adopted on questions of the prevention of nuclear war and arms limitation it voted against and in 12 instances abstained. On 10 occasions, furthermore, the United States found itself practically completely isolated, when even its closest allies failed to vote with it. This is not the first time that such a situation has arisen. On the one hand the growing isolation of the United States and, on the other, its disregard for the opinions of other states were noticeable at both the 38th and 37th sessions. The pressure on the United States for it to change such an approach increased at the 39th Session.

The United States opposed resolutions which outlined paths for the solution of such most important problems as preventing nuclear war, no first use of nuclear weapons, a nuclear arms freeze, the complete and general banning of nuclear weapons tests, a reduction in nuclear arms and the banning of neutron weapons and new types of weapons of mass destruction.

It can be seen just from this list that the reason for the lack of concord among the united nations on questions of strengthening peace is the United States' policy aimed at achieving military superiority, behind which is the aspiration to acquire the opportunity to dictate its will.

With the aid of some of its closest allies the United States attempted to gloss over this obvious truth. Thus a draft resolution which had been prepared by delegations of the FRG and other Western countries and which bore the demagogic title "Preventing War in the Nuclear Age" appeared at the 39th Session. This figleaf concealed in somewhat veiled form purely NATO stuffing—assertion of the right to the first use of nuclear weapons, the preaching of "nuclear deterrence" concepts, the demand for information on military activity to be made available, that is, the disclosure of military secrets, and so forth. The Western draft contained not a word about measures which could prevent nuclear war—a nuclear arms freeze, a halt to

tests of nuclear weapons and renunciation of the use thereof. The nonaligned countries proposed amendments to the draft, the purpose of which was to bring its content into line with its title. The Western countries then withdrew their draft from the vote.

Demagogic tricks are one method to which Western diplomacy resorted at the session to conceal the fact of the existence of fundamental differences between the United States and some of its closest allies on the one hand and the overwhelming majority of the united nations on the other. At the same time use was also made of such methods as backstage arm-twisting, political pressure and economic blackmail. But even despite the United States' "power diplomacy," the results of the voting at the session show that it absolutely certainly counterposed itself to the overwhelming majority of other UN members.

Obviously, the sole path toward unification of UN states' efforts in strengthening peace is, as the organization's charter demands, not verbal equilibristics and not the secret diplomacy of pressure and blackmail but a change in the basic policy whose purpose is to create for oneself military advantages and threaten the peoples of other countries with nuclear war.

As is known, UN General Assembly resolutions are not binding. Nonetheless, they contain the possibility of moral-political influence both on the situation in the world as a whole and on the policy of individual states which are attempting to poison the world situation with a spirit of mistrust and suspicion and fill it with the danger of a nuclear conflict.

Both the course of the discussion and the results of the voting showed emphatic condemnation on the part of the broadest range of UN members of the United States' policy of continued arms race. In a whole number of instances Washington's position was not supported even by its allies.

At the same time, on the other hand, the results of the study of questions of arms limitation at the 39th Session show extensive support in the world for the Soviet Union's consistent policy of removal of the threat of nuclear war and a curbing of the arms race. As a whole they provide a pretty sound basis for a continuation of efforts to reduce tension in the world and curb the arms race.

A.A. Gromyko spoke highly of the results of the 39th Session, declaring in conversation with political observers on 13 January 1985: "We evaluate the results of the past session very positively."

The 40th anniversary of the smashing of fascism and the creation of the United Nations (the 39th Session adopted a special decision in this connection) is commemorated this year. On the threshold of the splendid date it is particularly fitting to recall the principal lesson taught by World War II: states must fight against war together. "We peoples of the United Nations are fully resolved to deliver future generations from the calamities of war...."

The UN Charter begins with these words. They express the principal reason for its creation. And now--in the nuclear-space age--they call even more insistently on all states and all peoples to unite their forces for the preservation of peace. For whereas previously war was a great disaster, it now threatens the destruction of mankind.

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GENERAL

MOSCOW DISCUSSION SHOW VIEWS GENEVA TALKS, CDE

Shultz-Gromyko Meeting, Geneva Talks

LD191658 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 19 May 85

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer; publicist Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin; and Vladimir Yakovlevich Tsvetov, Central Television and All-Union Radio political observer]

[Excerpt] [Tsvetov] Hello, comrades! Last week Comrade Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR foreign minister, had a meeting in Vienna with U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. During their meeting, they touched on questions relating to the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons. Comrade Gromyko expressed concern at the unconstructive attitude at the talks by the U.S. side. It is with a discussion of that attitude that I would like to open our roundtable talk.

[Bovin] The conversation held in Vienna was quite an interesting one. Many questions were touched upon, including Central America and the Middle East, but at the center of attention, of course, were the Geneva talks on arms reduction and limitation. The conversation was a very detailed one, essentially rich in content, but of course also difficult. It was difficult because there is now the real problem of the unconstructive U.S. approach to the talks. In principle the U.S. approach is based on positions that we cannot accept. The Americans' starting point is that there exists a strategic imbalance and the Soviet Union has military-strategic superiority over the United States. If that is the case, then every specific U.S. proposal will without fail be asymmetrical in nature; in other words, since we have the superiority, we should make greater reductions than the Americans.

[Shishlin] We should stipulate, though, that it is the Americans who are alleging that we have the superiority.

[Bovin] Yes, naturally, and we cannot agree with such an approach. Another fundamental issue is the problem of "star wars." In our view, it is quite impossible to talk and try to reach agreement on reducing

and limiting any arms, no matter what type of arms in this case, while a program is being maintained which essentially means transferring the arms race into space. We cannot agree with such an approach and consider it to be ruinous, destabilizing, and fraught with the most negative consequences. For the time being there is no way that we can explain this, so to speak, to the Americans. The Americans for the time being are rigid, just rigid, in this attitude.

[Tsvetov] Evidently there is a difference also in the criteria of approach to the talks themselves. Our criterion, not only at these talks, but in general at any talks on disarmament, is equality and equal security, in other words, an honest approach to the interests of our partner in the talks. On the other hand, we insist on the same honest approach to our interests. Also, the honesty of the Soviet side's attitude in fact lies primarily in the fact that we show concern for the equality and equal security of both participants in the talks, and secondly that we honestly observe the accords on the subject and the aims of the talks. I will remind our listeners that before the talks started in Geneva, when Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko had his first meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, it was agreed that the talks would focus on the interconnected questions of nuclear and space weapons, and that the aim of the talks would be to prevent the militarization of space and end the arms race on earth.

[Shishlin] I should like to add something to what has been said. I think that one has to take into account the backdrop against which the new Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva are taking place and assess the rather dramatic effect on the situation that is arising.

This year for the first time, mankind is reaching a level of military expenditure of more than \$1 trillion. Of course, the prime cause of this dismal record is in fact the U.S. military plans and the orientation of the U.S. Administration toward achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact which are actually giving rise to more and more spirals in this endless arms race. That is one aspect of the matter. The other aspect, which you have already spoken of here, and I absolutely share that view, is the problem of "star wars." Only very recently U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger gave an interview to THE WASHINGTON POST. What did he say there in his search for an argument in favor of this "star wars" plan? It's interesting. He said no more, and no less, than the following: The Strategic Defense Initiative is not an arms race; it is not a matter of arms at all, or even weapons. It is a harmless means of destroying weapons. There are no weapons, he said.

[Bovin] In general, you don't even have to be an expert to understand that such hardware can operate over a wide spectrum. The fact that such a device can be used to bring down a missile or a satellite, and thus also be used to strike targets on earth, does not bear out Weinberger's logic here.

[Shishlin] It just confirms yet again that overall, the United States today is really not aiming at honest agreement based on the principle of equality and equal security of the sides; in fact, the line is to outwit their partner somehow. In such a sensitive sphere as questions of defense, however, these attempts are absolutely hopeless.

[Tsvetov] In order to create an atmosphere in which mutually acceptable solutions would be possible, the Soviet Union has come out with a whole set of important initiatives. Thus, the Soviet Union unilaterally suspended the deployment of its medium-range missiles in Europe and other countermeasures. As far as strategic offensive weapons are concerned, the Soviet Union is proposing, as before, that they be reduced by one-quarter and then go over later to the most key reduction in them. Finally, the USSR has proposed that a mutual and all-encompassing moratorium be put on the creation and deployment of nuclear and space weapons. So while the Soviet Union is striving in all sincerity for solutions to be achieved in Geneva that would stop the arms race on earth and prevent an arms race in space, it is far from possible to see such sincerity in the attitude of the United States. The negative U.S. attitude toward Soviet initiatives made in all three areas of the Geneva talks is in fact evidence of this insincerity in U.S. policy.

[Shishlin] In connection with the problem we are discussing, there is one other noteworthy circumstance, and returning to what you were saying, Vladimir Yakovlevich, about the visit by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko to the Austrian capital, there are two circumstances, I think, which are striking. First there is the definite difference between the content of the conversations that Andrey Andreyevich had with the West European foreign ministers, and the one that he had with the U.S. secretary of state. It seems to me that even from the meager reports that were published on the discussion of vital international problems with the West European foreign ministers, those talks were more fruitful and ended with greater results. The second circumstance I would like to mention is that, while the Soviet assessments of the first round in the new Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva state on the whole soberly and strictly that the results of that round are fairly dismal, the Americans, it seems to me, are deliberately introducing some sort of optimistic note, so to speak, into what lies ahead of those talks. In any event, Nitze, the U.S. Administration's consultant on nuclear arms talks, literally told the NATO foreign ministers just a couple of days ago that the chances of the United States and the Soviet Union signing an agreement on nuclear arms are greater now than ever before.

[Bovin] Well, that's natural, because they have been shouting and screaming all the time that "our hard line has brought the Russians to the negotiating table, and our hard line will force them to come to an agreement with us." In fact, their optimism now has the aim of justifying this completely groundless formulation.

[Shishlin] Yes, I think that here there is also some sort of response to the overall quite dismal results of the visit by the U.S. President to Western Europe, in order to make up for the unfavorable reaction, the unfavorable response to that visit.

[Bovin] I think we could conclude this Vienna and Geneva topic with the following rather interesting comment from the latest issue of the French magazine MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, which carries an article by Professor (Norman Bernbaum), professor of sociology at Georgetown University in the United States. The article ends with the passage:

A judicious study of the international situation is a gigantic job, a task which the administration is simply not capable of carrying out, writes Professor (Bernbaum). The idea that President Reagan has now decided to hold talks on arms control is absurd; he has reappointed for the talks the same officials who for 4 years showed an aptitude for blocking or sabotaging these talks. Reagan himself continues to hope for the possibility of U.S. strategic nuclear superiority.

Well, this seems to me to express the gist of the matter rather precisely.

[Tsvetov] The next round of talks between the USSR and the United States on nuclear and space armaments is to start in Geneva on 30 May. What the U.S. delegation brings to Geneva this time is very important. Will Washington bring its position at the talks into line with political and military realities; will it be able to renounce its fruitless attempts to acquire military superiority over the Soviet Union; will Washington demonstrate sober-mindedness and political will; and, most important no doubt, will it adopt a position of honesty during the talks? This will determine whether Geneva becomes a turning point at which the world will at last move toward disarmament. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it will do everything it can to ensure the success of the talks.

Stockholm Conference

I should now like to move on to another international problem of no lesser importance. The latest session of the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe reconvened in Stockholm on 14 May. Let me recall that 33 European countries, the United States, and Canada are taking part in the conference. When the previous session of the conference ended, the session participants were discussing the main provisions of a treaty on the mutual non-use of force and the maintenance of peaceful relations, proposed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Let me remind listeners of the gist of these main provisions: First, not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against one another; that is, not to use force at all. Next, not to use

force against third countries. Third, to avert a space armaments race. Fourth, to halt [as heard] nuclear and conventional armaments. Fifth, to limit and reduce armaments and to effect disarmament on the basis of the principle of equality, equilibrium, reciprocity, and equal respect for each other's security interests.

[Bovin] I daresay we ought to explain to the comrades listening to us that many different proposals have been voiced in Stockholm by the Warsaw Pact countries, the NATO countries, and the nonaligned and neutral countries, but all these proposals can be grouped into two categories, so to speak. On the one hand, there are proposals that have a broad political impact, such as...

[Tsvetov, interrupting] The main provisions on the non-use of force and the maintenance of peaceful relations.

[Bovin] Yes, the main provisions on the non-use of force. The second group, so to speak, consists of proposals of a purely technical, military nature. To simplify the situation just a little, the Americans, for instance, place the emphasis above all on these technical, military things. Even in that aspect, however, the main thing for them is verification. They are in fact more eager to talk not about what should be reduced or limited, but above all about how this ought to be verified. The problem of verification itself is, naturally, an important problem, but it should not be put before what should be verified. The Americans do all they can to push topics of a broad political nature into the background. As far as our own position is concerned, we attempt in fact to combine these broad political obligations which the sides ought to assume to increase mutual confidence, on the one hand, with, on the other, some kind of measures of a narrower technical military nature which could also build confidence, such as inviting observers to maneuvers, fixing the troop strengths taking part....

[Tsvetov, interrupting] Limiting the scale of military maneuvers.

[Bovin] Yes, yes, yes. So we are trying to adopt a comprehensive approach to this matter.

[Tsvetov] Speaking just prior to the opening of the latest session of the conference, Reagan announced that, pooling their efforts at Stockholm, the NATO countries had put forward a series of concrete confidence-building measures designed to make military activity in Europe more predictable and more stable. At the same time, the socialist countries' proposals would in the final analysis eliminate all military activity in Europe. Here we have two different approaches, one of which aims to make military activity in Europe more predictable and more stable, but which will essentially leave it where it is and the other approach of renouncing all military activity on the continent altogether in the future, in the long term.

[Shishlin] Yes, but on the subject of these technical military measures, one should not omit noting that in proposing these measures the Americans are disregarding the also quite specific proposals for strengthening and broadening confidence-building measures being put forward by the socialist countries, and they are advancing the idea that these verification and confidence-building measures should be geographically confined to the European zone; naturally, this includes Soviet territory as far as the Urals. At the same time, in the Americans' own territory, where the strategic fist of the NATO bloc is essentially concentrated, would be quite outside the zone of both verification and any sort of verification measures.

The proceedings of the Stockholm conference time and again pose the issue of the necessity of establishing a climate of confidence and of overcoming the suspicion and hostility which is cultivated by this policy of attaining military superiority, the policy of trying to outwit and dupe one's negotiating partner. This policy has no future. And it seems to me that these questions have a particularly insistent ring now as the 10th anniversary of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was crowned with the famous Helsinki Final Act, approaches.

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GENERAL

APN COMMENTATOR SURVEYS SOVIET DISARMAMENT POLICIES

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 21 May 85 pp 1-4

[APN item under the rubric "News and Views": "Nuclear Disarmament: What Does the USSR Suggest?" by APN political analyst Spartak Beglov]

[Text] The removal of nuclear weapons from mankind's life remains the priority goal of Soviet foreign policy. A fresh confirmation of this is the recent interview of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to the PTI Indian News Agency. It follows from this interview that the USSR is fully solidary with the proposals of the leaders of six countries on five continents (India, Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden) which urged specific measures to curb the nuclear arms race twice in the past 2 years.

Soviet program of action in the field of nuclear disarmament may be divided into three directions.

First, measures putting an end to the development of nuclear weapons and their spreading to other spheres. The task of ceasing all nuclear weapons tests all over the world remains to be overriding in this respect. The USSR has long been ready for a complete prohibition of such tests and could sign a relevant agreement any moment. Such an agreement could have been signed, say, in 1980, but it was exactly then that the United States walked out of the negotiations at which substantial advance had already been made.

The USSR also believes it is high time to put into effect the Soviet-American "threshold" agreements on limiting the underground nuclear weapons tests and explosions for peaceful purposes, which were signed in 1974 and 1976. It is the United States again which is to blame for procrastination with the ratification of these agreements. The reason is clear: the Pentagon's long-term nuclear plan provides for the production of 17,000 new nuclear warheads with a view to reequipping both strategic and tactical weapons systems. This plan provides for a nuclear arms race, planned for years ahead, with an emphasis on their continuous sophistication.

Displaying goodwill, the Soviet Union joins the proposal of the peace-loving public (Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed this on 19 May) to impose, from 6 August 1985 (40th anniversary of Hiroshima), a moratorium on any nuclear explosions to last until the conclusion of a relevant treaty on an overall nuclear weapons test ban.

Another direction of Soviet nuclear disarmament strategy are the measures which ensure drastic cuts of nuclear arms up to and including their complete elimination. In this case the USSR fully shares the proposal of the six to the effect that, as a first step, it is necessary to freeze nuclear arsenals, and stop the development, production and deployment of nuclear weapons. A relevant proposal was made by the USSR as early as 1982 at the talks with the United States (SALT II). At the same time the USSR was an initiator and co-author of a relevant resolution in the United Nations, which was addressed to all nuclear powers.

Subsequent developments gave the Soviet Union a pretext to make an even more specific initiative. When the new Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space armaments began in Geneva last March, Moscow proposed to Washington right away the following measures as a first step: stopping further build-up of arms, and imposing, pending the entire Geneva talks, a moratorium on the development, including research, testing and deployment of space armaments (since the American plan to create a universal ABM system in space undermines the possibility of signing agreements to limit strategic nuclear weapons on Earth).

In the context of this new initiative, the USSR has made yet another proposal to the United States. It suggested that strategic offensive arms should be frozen on a reciprocal basis, that the deployment of American medium-range missiles and the implementation of Soviet countermeasures be stopped. The Soviet Union confirmed its goodwill and intention to follow such a road by imposing a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of the said types of weapons in Europe, which is to last until November this year. As Mikhail Gorbachev has stressed, this country strictly abides by the terms of this moratorium. The Soviet leader said that if the United States displayed reciprocity on this question, this would help place the Geneva negotiations on a practical footing. If the agreement on an organic link between space non-militarization and arms reductions on Earth is observed, the USSR will be ready for most drastic cuts in strategic weapons on a reciprocal basis with the United States.

As for the optimal variant of nuclear disarmament, the Soviet readiness for it has been repeatedly emphasized by relevant comprehensive proposals of the USSR and its allies. An example of this is a proposal on the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and on the gradual reduction of their stockpiles up to and including their complete liquidation, which was made by the socialist community countries in February 1979 in the Committee (now Conference) on Disarmament in Geneva. This proposal envisaged negotiated measures in stages. It was backed by Group 21 (non-aligned nations), but the United States and its NATO allies began to block even the establishment of a special working group on nuclear disarmament.

The third direction of Soviet policy in this field is best of all illustrated by the 1982 Soviet unilateral nuclear no-first-use pledge. This direction includes a package of measures aimed at preventing nuclear war and ensuring the norms of conduct binding for all nuclear states with a view to strengthening the security of non-nuclear weapon countries as much as possible, and encouraging the formation of nuclear weapon-free zones in different areas of the world. In brief, the aim of this code of restraint in the nuclear field

is to create the most favourable conditions for nuclear weapons to become redundant both in relations between the powers which possess them and on a global scale. Regrettably, the USSR is so far again the only nuclear power which has made relevant commitments in this important field. All others keep silent, while the United States and NATO as a whole do not conceal their stake on a preventive nuclear war.

Hence, all the difficulties in the implementation of complete nuclear disarmament, a vital task for all mankind. But nothing will weaken Soviet determination to do everything to achieve this goal, relying on the support of the entire international community.

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GENERAL

NEW ZEALAND PRIME MINISTER COMMENDS NUCLEAR ARMS REPORT

Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 30 Apr 85 p 4

[Text]

The New Zealand response to nuclear weapons is pertinent, and the Royal Society of New Zealand is to be commended for publishing an objective account of the issues, says the Prime Minister, Mr Lange.

He was speaking last night at the launching of the society's report, "The Threat of Nuclear War: A New Zealand Perspective."

He said scientists had persevered with the task despite possible accusations of becoming politically involved.

"The report describes the dilemma of the scientific community, which made the technological advances which brought nuclear weapons into existence, which continues to expand and refine their destructive capacity and which must live every day with the results. . ."

Genie

Mr Lange said a prospect embraced by non-scientists was that scientists might provide the means to put "the genie back into the bottle."

The American Star Wars concept was the best known example, he said.

Mr Lange said the society's observations about the relationship between humanity and nuclear weapons was not encouraging.

"The report points out that the qualities of co-operativeness and reason which allow us to live together in communities do not survive beyond the boundaries of these communities."

"Nation states attribute the best possible motives to themselves and the worst possible motives to others. A great deal of international relations is characterised by all the sophistication and altruism of a playground brawl."

"Behaviour which would be absolutely intolerable among civilised individuals is the norm. That for that is the usual frame of reference."

"We are in the realm of the irrational. As the report says, we have gone beyond the logic of deterrence. Two-hundred strategic nuclear weapons would destroy all the cities in the USA and the USSR with populations over 100,000; but there are nearly a hundred times as many such weapons in existence."

Mr Lange said it was almost impossible for anyone in public life to make a serious attempt to open public discussion about the real motivation of those who are regarded as our national adversaries.

Achievable

He did not believe the continued existence of nuclear weapons was necessary or inevitable. "I think the world can bring itself to do without them, and that the goal can be reached through political action."

However, he said it did not matter whether scientists or politicians found the answer; what mattered was the attempt.

About 120 people attended the launching of the report at the society's building in Thorndon.

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27 June 1985

GENERAL

CHINESE COMMENTARIES CALL FOR DISARMAMENT**Need To Remove Nuclear Threat****OW280046 Beijing XINHUA in English 0031 GMT 28 May 85**

["Commentary: Remove Threats of Nuclear War (by Lei Zhermin)" -- XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, May 28 (XINHUA) -- Washington and Moscow are about to start their second round of nuclear arms talks in Geneva, an event attracting worldwide attention at a time when huge, threatening nuclear stockpiles are crying out for drastic cuts.

The United States and the Soviet Union often resort to an exaggeration of the other side's nuclear forces as an excuse for building up their own arsenals and for bargaining at the negotiating table.

In reality, their nuclear forces are by and large balanced, in spite of the lead the United States gained in the initial period of nuclear development and a letup in its nuclear effort in the 1970's. Both have built up a huge strategic nuclear offensive force composed of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched missiles and long-distance bombers.

In comparison, the Soviet Union has more nuclear vehicles than the United States (2,400 pieces versus 2,100); higher nuclear equivalent (five billion tons of TNT versus four billion); and more land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (1,398 versus 1,034).

The United States, however, has a lead in the number of nuclear warheads (9,400 versus 8,000); more strategic submarine-launched nuclear warheads (5,300 versus 1,300); and more long-distance bombers (530 versus 150).

In addition, the United States has more tactical or battlefield nuclear weapons (up to 8,000 versus 5,300), but is weaker in antiaircraft force, which is deployed mostly in the United States.

By and large, the two nuclear forces are balanced, in spite of the advantages they enjoy in different aspects.

But the balance is a "balance of terror." No matter how strong their nuclear equivalents are, 10 billion tons of TNT, 20 billion tons or 300 billion tons -- as shown by different estimates -- they are supra-weapons of mass killing, enough to destroy

the other side several dozen times, threatening not only their allies, but also the entire world.

People of the world, in face of the threat, are entitled to demand a halt to the nuclear arms race, as easing of East-West tension and ultimately the elimination of all nuclear weapons. It is hoped that there will be no more empty talks in Geneva, that negotiations will be conducted in good faith, and that substantial progress results.

China's Stand for Total Disarmament

Beijing **BELJING REVIEW** in English 27 May 85 pp 15-19

[Article by Xia Yishan: "China Pushes for Total Disarmament"]

[Text] The arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union is rooted in their hegemonic policies. China hopes to see the arms race halted and total disarmament become a reality. The two superpowers, first and foremost, should reduce their armaments. Initially, they should cease testing, improving and manufacturing nuclear weapons and substantially reduce their nuclear arsenals. If they do so, other nuclear countries should take corresponding measures to reduce their arms.

TODAY, as the number and destructiveness of nuclear and conventional weapons multiplies, the people of the world live under the threatening shadow of nuclear holocaust. There is no question that halting the arms race and preventing a nuclear war is the most important task facing the world.

The Soviet Union and the United States possess most of the world's armaments. The two nations have between them more than 50,000 nuclear warheads. Altogether, those warheads have a total explosive power of 15,000 megatons, or 1 million times that of the US bomb that killed 140,000 people in Hiroshima in 1945. The 16 Poseidon missiles installed on each of the United States' strategic submarines have more firepower than all the bombs dropped in Europe and Japan during World War II. Soviet scientists had produced nuclear warheads of 50 and 100 megatons by the early 1960s.

Nuclear weapons are not the

only problem. Both nations have enormous arsenals of conventional arms and chemical weapons. And they are both researching space weapons at a speed never before matched.

Threat to World Peace

The arms race has aggravated the confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States and between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO). It is the cause of constant international tension and a grave threat to world peace.

The danger has been multiplied as the two superpowers are working hard to improve their nuclear arsenals and develop new strategic and intermediate-range missiles. Now both the Soviet Union and the United States are able to fire a nuclear warhead at a site 9,000 km away and are confident that it will land within several hundred metres of the target. Their

intermediate-range missiles in Europe can pinpoint targets within minutes. There is little room for error.

Chance of Mishaps

The more nuclear weapons there are, the more chances there will be for technical mishaps. In recent months there have been two incidents. Last winter a Soviet missile went off course and entered the airspace of Norway and Finland, and a US Pershing II missile caught fire in West Germany. According to data released by the US Defence Department in 1980, the United States had experienced 33 nuclear weapons incidents. In the Soviet Union, it is known that at least 10 such incidents have occurred. Moreover, false warnings have become increasingly common. With the intense distrust and suspicion that exists between Moscow and Washington, the technical incidents constitute a very real danger.

No Winners

If a nuclear war were to break out, hundreds of millions of people would die, and the survivors would suffer immeasurable pain from radiation poison. More and more people have come to realize the horrible nature of nuclear war, and even the Soviet and US leaders concede that there can be no winners in a nuclear conflict.

Not only has the arms race increased the danger of nuclear war, it has also consumed vast human and material resources. According to United Nations statistics, about 50 million people have military-related jobs, of whom 25 million are in active service and 500,000 are scientists and engineers. Significant amounts of key resources are used for military purposes, and the military consumption of oil products accounts for 5 to 6 percent of the world's total. Total world military expenditures reached US\$800 billion in 1984, or 6 percent of the world's total production. The world pays out US\$2.2 billion for military spending every day, and it costs each person an average of \$166 a year. The United States and the Soviet Union are the most extravagant spenders. The two major military blocs — WTO and NATO — account for 70 percent of the world's total military outlay.

Military consumption of labour and material resources has aggravated global economic difficulties. It hinders the economic development of those countries which have planned economies. And nations with market-based economies are plagued by inflation, unemployment and a shortage of capital due to the military demands. But the most severely victimized are the developing countries.

The Root of the Problem

Moscow and Washington continue their arms race because they are vying for world hegemony.

Ever since he entered the White House, US President Ronald Reagan has, under the pretext of restoring the equilibrium of power, pursued a policy of military rebuilding and tough confrontation with the Soviet Union. The US military budget has swollen dramatically. Military spending in fiscal 1982 and 1983 increased by 7.8 percent and 7.1 percent, and the military budgets for fiscal 1984 and 1985 went up by 8.8 percent and 9.3 percent respectively. Planned allocations for the research, development and purchase of military hardware have increased an average of 16 percent every year from 1983 to 1987.

The Kremlin is showing no sign of weakness in the face of the Reagan's challenge. Also using the pretext of maintaining a military balance, the Soviet Union has constantly worked to harden its military muscle and made sure that military spending increases 4 to 5 percent annually. Soviet leaders have repeatedly stressed that they will not allow the present military balance to tip in favour of the United States and NATO.

Now both superpowers have turned their attention towards improving the quality of their weapons and to new technological fields, especially space weapons. Following the theory that "he who has control over outer space controls the earth," they are locked in a rivalry for space supremacy.

No Sincerity in Talks

Although the Soviet Union and the United States have held numer-

ous arms control or disarmament talks over the past 30 years, they have been unsuccessful in retarding the arms race. This is because both of them lack a sincere desire to disarm. They only see such talks as an opportunity to limit the other's weapons so as to get an advantage. There seems to be no real effort made to end the arms race.

In fact, the United States has created a rationale for the arms race — the doctrine of nuclear deterrence. The concept implies that only a reliable nuclear deterrent that ensures the destruction of the enemy can discourage the enemy from launching a preemptive attack. Although Moscow has attacked the United States for its nuclear deterrence idea, the Soviet strategists actually believe in the same philosophy. In the early 1960s, Nikita Khrushchov admitted, "They (the United States) try to intimidate us with war, and, we do likewise."

Balance of Terror

Washington has always stressed the importance of beefing up its nuclear deterrent force and maintaining a balance of terror. US leaders believe the dangerous nuclear standoff has guaranteed peace for 40 years in the Northern Hemisphere. The Soviets, too, have always emphasized the need for a military balance, and they have advocated putting military work above everything else. They contend that their nuclear missiles have checked US adventurist actions and guaranteed the security of the Soviet Union and its allies.

It is clear that the theory of nuclear deterrence is a sham created by the superpowers to rationalize their stepped-up arms race. As a rule, military competition leads only to insecurity. As the number

of weapons grows, so does the possibility of nuclear war.

All third world nations condemn the superpowers for holding the security of the world and the survival of mankind as hostage. They demand that the superpowers forgo their nuclear deterrence strategy and halt the arms race.

China's Stand

China always supports the complete prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons.

The Chinese people know the horrors of war. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, more than 35 million people in China died or were wounded. China, a developing socialist country, needs peace and a stable international environment in which to develop. China has put forward many proposals and taken practical measures to safeguard world peace, ease tensions and help bring about disarmament.

In recent years, while the superpowers have increased their military expenditures, China has reduced its military spending, shifting a considerable portion of its defence industry to civilian production.

To realize the aim of complete disarmament, China takes the following stand:

1) The main responsibility for disarmament must rest with the superpowers. The present threat of nuclear war comes from the United States and the Soviet Union. Their nuclear arsenals account for 97 percent of the world's total. Only the superpowers are truly capable of waging a nuclear war. Only when they stop the arms race and substantially reduce their nuclear arsenals can nuclear war be prevented. A few other countries

have a limited number of nuclear weapons. But even if those countries completely eliminated their nuclear weapons, the clouds of nuclear war would not be dispersed. Therefore, the main responsibility for disarmament lies with the superpowers. China, which possesses a very small number of nuclear weapons, has never avoided its responsibility to disarm. Any attempt to put these countries on a par with the superpowers can only obscure the objectives of disarmament.

2) Disarmament and international security are inseparable. Unless the tense international situation is eased and world security is ensured, it will be difficult to realize disarmament. And without disarmament, the world can never be fully secure. The nations of the world must oppose hegemonism in order to reduce tensions and guarantee security. They should observe the United Nations Charter and the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence so that all nations may live in harmony. When nations fail to do so, they may come into conflict, or even resort to arms. China is opposed to both "cold war" and actual armed conflicts. It would like to see the United States and the Soviet Union ease their relations, a turn of events that could result in an end to the NATO-WTO standoff.

3) There are both long-term and short-term goals for disarmament. The long-term aim, of course, is to completely prohibit and thoroughly destroy all nuclear weapons. However, it will take a long time to realize this aim. In the meantime, some practical steps should be taken. Washington and Moscow should take the lead in stopping testing, improving and manufacturing nuclear weapons and substantially reducing their nuclear arsenals. Afterwards, other

nuclear countries should also take corresponding measures and reduce their arms proportionately. Before this, all nations with nuclear weapons should undertake not to use nuclear weapons first, and not to use or threaten to use such weapons against non-nuclear nations. They should also reach agreement on non-use of such weapons against one another.

4) The fundamental way to prevent nuclear war is to completely prohibit and thoroughly destroy all nuclear weapons. But, prior to the realization of this goal, we must take some practical steps to reduce the risk of catastrophe. The Soviet Union and the United States should take the lead in putting an end to the testing, manufacture and deployment of nuclear weapons in order to create conditions for other nuclear countries to take the corresponding measures. These two countries should stop deploying medium-range missiles in Europe and Asia, and they should hold negotiations on the reduction and destruction of such weapons. If all nuclear countries agree not to use nuclear weapons and the two superpowers put a halt to the deployment of their intermediate-range missiles, inter-continental ballistic missiles and space weaponry, the possibility of nuclear war will be greatly reduced.

5) Preventing an arms race in outer space is crucial. At present the superpowers are rushing to research and test space-based weapons in an attempt to gain superiority in outer space. Should one of them make a major breakthrough, the space arms race will be fiercer, posing a new threat to world peace. Therefore, it is most urgent that space weapons be prohibited immediately.

China opposes any type of arms race, including the space arms race.

China has always contended that outer space should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. Space exploration should promote the economic, scientific and cultural development of the whole world. In 1983 China signed the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. China feels the first step in demilitarizing space is to prohibit the testing, manufacture, deployment and use of all space-based arms and destroy them. The superpowers must assume particular responsibility for stopping the arms race in outer space. They should participate in both bilateral and multilateral negotiations to work out an international agreement banning such arms systems. Now is the time to end the space arms race. It is not too late to avoid the dangerous situation. If such a ban is delayed and space weapons begin to proliferate, the results will be horrible. For this reason, China, as a third world country with limited outer space capabilities, will join other countries in an effort to ban weapons in space.

6) While stressing nuclear disarmament, the world should not neglect any opportunity to reduce conventional weapons. In the arms race between the superpowers, conventional arms occupy an important position. The United States and the Soviet Union spend 80 percent of their military expenditures on conventional arms. Their huge arsenals of such weapons are their major tools for aggression and expansion.

The destructiveness of conventional war is not to be underestimated. During World War I more than 10 million people were killed. And World War II left more than 50 million dead and 80 million wounded. The dozens of smaller conflicts since 1945 have

killed another 21 million — all victims of conventional weapons. The superpowers have been directly or indirectly involved in a number of such wars. This has not only brought suffering to the people of war-torn countries, it has also caused East-West tension and threatened to escalate minor conflicts to global warfare. Today's conventional weapons are far more technologically advanced and lethal than the arms of the past. For these reasons, conventional weapons cannot be neglected. Nuclear disarmament should be accompanied by a drastic reduction of conventional weapons.

7) Chemical weapons should be banned as soon as possible. The Geneva talks on such a ban should move ahead at full speed. China has always supported a ban on chemical and biological weapons. China declared as early as 1952 that it would abide by the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare if the other signatories do the same. And in 1984 China signed the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction.

Chemical weapons were used extensively during World War I, and they resulted in death or injury to some 1.3 million soldiers. Since then, chemical weapons have been modernized and today are much more lethal. Delivery systems and spraying methods have been constantly improved.

The two superpowers possess more than 40 kinds of chemical weapons including chemical shells, bombs, missiles, rockets, mines and airborne sprayers. According to estimates in the West, the Soviet

Union's chemical arsenal includes about 350,000 tons of munitions (some say the total is twice as much), one-sixth of the total Soviet arsenal. If only the bombs, shells and rockets are counted, the chemical munitions make up 35 percent of the total. The US stockpile of chemical munitions is estimated at 150,000 to 200,000 tons. But the US military has the capability to easily increase the total to 400,000 tons on short notice. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have developed a huge chemical warfare programme. Washington spent US\$111 million on this programme in 1978, and in 1983 the expenditure increased to US\$705 million. Soviet spending on chemical weapons is roughly equal to the US figure.

Chemical weapons are the second most lethal weapons, next to nuclear arms. They are dreaded weapons — hateful and inhuman. Such weapons are relatively cheap and easy to produce. Since World War II, the two superpowers have a shameful record of using chemical weapons. People all over the world are now strongly demanding that an international convention on banning these weapons be concluded. The Geneva conference on disarmament has made some progress in this regard but not enough. China hopes to see the negotiations move forward quickly so chemical weapons can be prohibited and removed from the face of the earth.

8) China does not approve of the partial nuclear test ban treaty; instead, it stands for complete prohibition of nuclear tests.

As early as 1963, when the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain signed the partial nuclear test ban treaty forbidding atomic weapons testing in the atmosphere, outer space and underwater, China pointed out that the pact was

designed to strengthen their nuclear monopoly and legitimize the underground testing of nuclear arms. This judgement has been proven correct by the fact that in the following 20 years the Soviet Union conducted 365 nuclear tests and the United States, 425. In addition, they have been continuously inventing ever more advanced nuclear weapons, and their nuclear arsenals are always on the increase.

Though China refuses to be a signatory to the partial nuclear test ban treaty, it stands for a comprehensive prohibition of nuclear tests. It believes that a comprehensive test ban will be helpful, under certain conditions, in realizing the long-range goal of completely prohibiting and totally destroying nuclear arms. Therefore, China is ready to participate in discussions on such a ban. However, it still maintains that a comprehensive test ban should be an integral part of nuclear disarmament, and that a mere veto cannot halt the superpowers' arms race. Until the superpowers set about slashing their nuclear arsenals, a blanket test ban which applies to all nuclear countries can only favour the maintenance of their nuclear superiority. Deep cuts in the superpowers' nuclear stockpiles are needed before a comprehensive test ban can be concluded. This will contribute to reducing and finally removing the danger of nuclear war.

9) China refuses to join the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of June 1968, though it is not for such proliferation. China regards the treaty as discriminatory. First, nuclear non-proliferation should refer to both "horizontal" and "vertical" non-proliferation — in other words, the non-nuclear countries should not acquire nuclear weapons, and the nuclear countries should not increase or

improve their nuclear arms. The treaty, however, only forbids the spread of atomic weapons to the non-nuclear countries, but it fails to prevent the nuclear signatories to the treaty from increasing and improving their arsenals. Clearly this is unfair.

Second, the provisions concerning the obligations of the non-nuclear signatories to the treaty are concrete and strict. Article 2 stipulates, for example, that non-nuclear states undertake not to receive, acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons or other explosive devices. However, the terms applying to the nuclear signatories are general and lack binding force. For instance, these countries are merely obliged to undertake serious talks, as set down in Article 6, on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race and disarmament. Therefore, the treaty obligations imposed on the two categories of countries are not equal.

Third, the aim of the treaty, as stated clearly in its preamble, is to guarantee the security of the people of all nations. But while the non-nuclear member states must comply with their treaty obligations by giving up their right to possess nuclear arms, it stands to reason that the nuclear member states should undertake not to use nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear weapon countries, thus ensuring their security. The treaty, however, misses this point. Therefore, it is expedient for the superpowers to maintain and strengthen their nuclear monopoly — and their capability for nuclear blackmail. It cannot truly prevent nuclear war and guarantee international security.

China also believes, however, that "vertical" non-proliferation is more important. Therefore, the superpowers must halt the develop-

ment of nuclear weapons and unconditionally undertake not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones.

Many non-nuclear countries hope to aid the cause of disarmament and reduce the risk of nuclear war by giving up their right to nuclear arms. China respects their wishes. China supports the African and Arab peoples' opposition to South Africa and Israel importing or developing nuclear weapons for intimidating other countries and seeking regional hegemony. China is always in favour of the non-nuclear countries establishing nuclear-free zones on a voluntary basis. And China holds that all nuclear countries, especially the superpowers, should respect the status of these non-nuclear zones.

In international nuclear co-operation, China takes a cautious and responsible attitude towards dealing with nuclear technology, and attaches considerable importance to its sensitivity. The late Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi said in 1965: "Nuclear co-operation has two aspects — on the peaceful use of atomic energy ... China is willing to provide help; as for asking us to help make the bomb, this is out of question." China has always adhered to this position.

When China joined the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1983, it declared that it would require the IAEA safeguards as a condition for its exports of nuclear materials and facilities. China also ensures that its own imports of nuclear fuels and facilities are to be used only for peaceful purposes.

In his report to the Second Session of the Sixth National People's Congress, Chinese Premier Zhao

Ziyang declared China's basic policy on the issue of nuclear non-proliferation: "China is critical of the discriminatory Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and has declined to accede to the treaty. But China by no means favours nuclear proliferation, nor will it engage in such proliferation by helping other countries develop nuclear weapons."

In addition, China also sticks to the following principles: Since disarmament concerns the security and interests of the people of the world, all countries, whether large or small, nuclear or non-nuclear, strong or weak, should have an equal part in the disarmament talks, as well as equal rights to monitor the implementation of relevant agreements. Furthermore, no agreement should hamper or endanger any country's independence, sovereignty and security. Disarmament accords must also contain strict and effective measures for international verification to ensure compliance.

China's cardinal position, in summary, is to oppose the arms

race, especially the nuclear arms race. It stands for complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, and slashing conventional arms. China's aim is to prevent nuclear war and safeguard world peace.

The Swedish scientist Alfred Nobel, who invented dynamite, thought that the explosive was so powerfully destructive that it would make war ridiculous and therefore impossible. But he was mistaken. Since that time, wars have occurred one after the other, costing tens of millions of lives. Now, some people hope to use nuclear weapons, the most powerful and destructive instruments mankind has ever devised, to deter another world war. The idea is dangerous. Only by reducing and destroying nuclear arms can nuclear war possibly be prevented. Even though the danger of nuclear war now exists, the forces to control it are growing in strength. China believes that world peace is attainable provided that the peace-loving peoples of the world unite to control their own destiny. □

GENERAL

BELJING FORUM ADDRESSES NUCLEAR ARMS, DISARMAMENT

OW040900 Beijing XINHUA in English 0834 GMT 4 Jun 85

[Text] Beijing, June 4 (XINHUA) -- Li Yimang, president of the Chinese Association for International Understanding, said here today that the one billion Chinese love peace and support disarmament. Li said this at a Beijing forum on safeguarding world peace, which opened here this morning.

Over 60 people representing some 50 peace organizations from more than 20 countries joined 40 Chinese representatives to discuss peace at the three-day forum.

Li said that China supported the proposition that nuclear disarmament be carried out together with conventional disarmament. In recent years, he said, China had converted military production into civilian production on a large scale and drastically reduced the size and establishment of its Army.

He said that although China developed a minimal number of nuclear weapons to foil the nuclear blackmail of the superpowers, it had pledged in 1964 never to be the first user of nuclear weapons, and not to proliferate nuclear weapons or deploy nuclear weapons abroad. With the growth of its economy and strength, China would contribute more to world peace, he said.

The most urgent task, he said, was to stop the arms race and rivalry for world hegemony between the two superpowers, eliminate the nuclear threat and prevent a nuclear war.

Li called on the two superpowers to conduct negotiations on arms control in earnest, reach genuine agreement on disarmament, take the lead in halting the testing, improvement and production of nuclear weapons and space weapons, stop deploying nuclear weapons in other countries and drastically reduce their nuclear arsenals.

On this basis, he added, all countries with nuclear weapons should hold comprehensive nuclear disarmament negotiations and seek to reach fair and reasonable agreements so as gradually realize the total prohibition and complete destruction of nuclear weapons.

Li said that another world war did not happen in the last forty years because of the will of the people. Their desire for peace and opposition to war, especially to nuclear war, provided the genuine "deterrent".

He pointed out that the escalated arms race of the two superpowers would hamper the economic development and people's life of not only their own countries but also of some developed countries.

He called for an end to arms race so that funds and resources could be used to improve people's life of the countries concerned and to aid the economic development of Third World countries, which could become a powerful factor in promoting world economic prosperity and world peace.

Li Yimang said that unless hegemonist policies were opposed, neither world peace, nor regional peace, nor a country's own security could be achieved or maintained.

He said that peace movement in the world, which was checking the arms expansion and war preparations of the superpowers, reflected the strong aspiration of the world people to safeguard peace.

He expressed the belief that world peace movement would grow and the cause of safeguarding world peace would be enhanced with strengthened unity of peace movements in various countries.

The forum is the first international one sponsored by a non-government Chinese organization in 20 years.

Vice-Chairman Zhu Xuefan of China's National People's Congress Standing Committee and Vice-Chairman Zhao Puchu of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference were present at the opening ceremony of the forum this morning.

Prominent participants at the forum include Tokuma Utsunomiya, president of the Japan-China Friendship Association; Aldo Tassio, president of "appeal of the 100 for survival" and adviser to the Argentine president; Melinda Fine, international coordinator of nuclear weapons freeze campaign of the United States; Mirza Hameedullah Beg, president of the minorities commission of India; and Ken Coates, a leading member of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation of Britain.

CSO: 5200/4044

GENERAL

BRIEFS

PRC DELEGATION VISITS U.S.--Washington, 5 June (XINHUA)--A Chinese disarmament delegation, with Han Xu, Chinese ambassador to the United States, as deputy leader, started a 5-day return visit yesterday at the invitation of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The Chinese delegation exchanged views on disarmament, an issue of general international concern, with Kenneth Adelman, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and other officials on 4 and 5 June. Adelman visited China in early July last year. Qian Jiadong arrived here on 3 June from New York and will leave Washington on 8 June. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1920 GMT 6 Jun 85 OW]

CSO: 5200/4045

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

USSR: U.S. ATTITUDE CREATES POOR PROSPECTS FOR SECOND ROUND

U.S. Stance 'Unconstructive'

PM300833 Moscow SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN' in Russian 25 May 85 p 3

[Article by political observer Vladlen Kuznetsov under the "View of Events" rubric: "Call for Realism"]

[Text] The second round of Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms begins in Geneva 30 May.

The outcome of the first round caused concern to the European and world public. Will there be a repetition of the sad experience of previous talks, torpedoed by the siting of new American first-strike nuclear potential in West Europe?

So far as the United States is concerned, one has to note with great regret that there are some people who would in fact like to repeat that history. The American delegates had hardly sat down at the negotiating table in Geneva before Washington began pushing through Congress its program for MX first-strike supermissiles. It reached the point where M. Kampelman, head of the American delegation in Geneva, was hurriedly recalled to Washington to be given the unenviable job of pushing the program.

And there is more. Manufacturing contracts for "star wars" weaponry are being handed out by the Pentagon right, left, and center. While simultaneous attempts are being made to harness the West European NATO partners and Japan to its space chariot.

What does this all indicate? Does it indicate that Washington burns with the desire, as alleged, to make nuclear weapons "impotent and outmoded"? Does it indicate that they are seeking "greater reliance on means of defense there"?

No. The creation of aggressive potential cannot indicate peaceful intentions or a readiness to remove the threat of war by productive talks on arms limitation and reduction. Particularly as the creation of this potential is accompanied by a stubborn refusal on the part of official Washington to follow the Soviet Union and commit itself not to use nuclear weapons first.

The U.S. Administration's military policy does not inspire trust. Particularly since the United States, in the view of such a qualified specialist as former CIA Deputy Director H. Scoville, "is now firmly and openly geared toward a strategic nuclear first-strike policy. Pursuing this policy means one is literally asking for a nuclear catastrophe without parallel in the history of mankind." That says it all.

This overall thrust of the American leadership in matters of war and peace also determines its spokesmen's conduct at talks with the Soviet Union. Will the United States steer a course toward an accord, toward arms limitation and reduction? Precisely this question arose during the first stage of the Geneva talks. The talks are confidential in nature. Nevertheless, there is enough material for one to judge what is happening at the talks and the U.S. stance. There are the articles by highly informed American commentators who have access to confidential information; statements by specialists who have experience of disarmament talks and well understand the intricacies of the American stance; and the coded "leaks" from U.S. delegation circles.

It is true that every effort is being made in the American capital to conceal its unconstructive stance in Geneva by means of peace-loving rhetoric. Making a statement on the results of the first round of talks, the U.S. President was unstinting in his promises "to obtain significant arms limitation" and in optimistic words about "reaching an accord." But the present U.S. stance in Geneva has yet to inspire optimism. Why?

First, the American delegation is deviating from the initial accord reached by A. A. Gromyko and G. Shultz on the eve of the talks. The essence of which lies in the interrelated, comprehensive examination of the problems of nuclear and space arms. The military-strategic situation in the world and the level of armaments today are such that they do not allow any limitation, let alone reduction, until reliable measures preventing the transfer of the arms race to space are taken. Demilitarization on earth is impossible while space is being militarized. If someone has decided to achieve military superiority in space, how can he persuade the other party to scrap his earth-based armaments? It is clear that preventing the arms race in space and stopping it on earth are closely interconnected.

Washington too agreed with this approach initially. That is precisely what opened up the way to new talks. But they only had to begin for the American delegation to begin avoiding discussion of the question of preventing the arms race spreading to outer space. They would like to remove President R. Reagan's "strategic defense initiative" from the ambit of the talks. How can one, however, ignore a project by means of which they intend to acquire military superiority in near-earth space?

Second, Washington, while refusing to discuss the space topic seriously, is also adopting a highly evasive stance regarding the reduction of strategic nuclear arms and medium-range nuclear system in Europe. The American spokesmen in Geneva do not yet have a single truly constructive proposal to their name. Despite which, the "political declaration" of the seven leading capitalist states adopted at their meeting in Bonn at the beginning of May contains approval of America's "positive proposals." Which, one asks?

Surely the drafters of the declaration (principally Washington and Bonn) do not count the "zero" and "interim" options? That is, proposals which are deliberately untenable and unacceptable for the USSR and which figured at the previous talks broken off by the United States and which were designed to secure unilateral advantages.

To facilitate the securing of a mutually acceptable accord at the Geneva talks the USSR has proposed the following to the United States for the whole period of the talks:

--to introduce a moratorium on the creating--including scientific research work--testing, and deployment of space strike arms;

--to freeze strategic offensive arms on both sides;

--and to halt the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe and the build-up of countermeasures by the Soviet Union and its allies.

As frequently in the past, the Soviet Union has shown good will with the aim of activating the talks and creating a favorable atmosphere around them. It has introduced a moratorium on deployment of its medium-range missiles and suspended the implementation of countermeasures in Europe. The moratorium extends until this November. Whether it is extended or rescinded will depend on the United States. It will depend on whether Washington follows the Soviet example of restraint, on whether it halts the further deployment of its medium-range missiles in Europe.

It is also worth remembering here that another moratorium, a moratorium adopted unilaterally by the Soviet Union on launching antisatellite weapons into space first, has been in effect since 1983. And this too helps create a better situation in which to achieve an agreement in Geneva.

So far as strategic nuclear weapons are concerned, the Soviet Union proposes reducing them by one-fourth, while indicating its readiness to make even deeper reductions. But even this is not all; the USSR supports a proposal declaring a moratorium on all nuclear weapons tests from 6 August 1985--the 40th anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima--or even earlier.

The new Soviet peace initiatives are an invitation to shift the Geneva talks into a productive stage as quickly as possible and to advance them on a genuinely sound basis toward a mutually acceptable accord. The USSR is not seeking unilateral advantages at the talks, but rather seeks an honest result.

The Soviet Union is not seeking to triumph over its partner at the talks but seeks to ensure the triumph of the common cause of peace, security, and disarmament. The USSR, however, has not come to Geneva to engage in a "philosophical dispute" which commits no one to anything or in abstract disarmament topics divorced from actual practice. Let alone a lecture course about the alleged merits of dubious "initiatives." The Soviet delegation will be seeking to obtain within an acceptable, sensible period

a practical agreement in the spirit of the accord in principle on a comprehensive, interrelated approach to resolving the problem of nuclear and space arms on the fundamental basis of the principle of equality and identical security.

The Soviet leadership has told the American Administration absolutely plainly that it is clearly impossible to combine the arms race with disarmament talks without being guilty of hypocrisy and setting out to deceive public opinion. Geneva is not a shield for military preparations or for attempts to secure military superiority. Nor is it a shield to conceal one's reluctance to come to an agreement on issues whose solution will determine the question of war or peace.

Only USSR 'Sincere'

LD292241 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 29 May 85

[From the "World Today" Program presented by Georgiy Zubkov]

[Text] Tomorrow, 30 May, the second round of talks between the Soviet Union and the United States opens in Geneva. Three main questions are to be discussed at these Soviet-American talks. They are: space strike weapons, strategic offensive weapons, and medium-range nuclear weapons.

How to prevent the arms race in space and how to halt it on earth: These problems concern not only the two states which are meeting again at the conference table--the delegations returned to Geneva today--they concern all parties and all peoples, as well as each person, because the situation in the world remains complex and dangerous. People are waiting for sensible solutions from the Geneva talks. They hope that common sense, political realism, and a sense of responsibility for a peaceful future will win through.

However, these talks are so far not giving satisfaction. Why? The reason is that sincere hope for an accord was displayed on only one side--on the Soviet side. The position of the American side, however, has shown that the U.S. Administration does not reckon on an accord from the aims and the topics of the talks. In all circumstances it intends to continue with its star wars program--a program for the creation of space strike weapons.

During the first round of talks the American delegation in Geneva proposed no constructive steps toward genuine disarmament. It did not display readiness to consider Soviet initiatives seriously and in a proper manner. Our country proposes on each of the points which are being discussed in Geneva a specific, precise, and realistic plan which could lead to an accord with strict observance of the principle of equality and identical security. The Soviet Union believes it is essential to agree on a ban on the creation, testing, and deployment of space strike weapons. The Soviet Union favors a radical reduction of strategic armaments and rejection of the creation and deployment of new types of arms. The Soviet Union favors the immediate halting of the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe together with the simultaneous reduction of Soviet countermeasures, and then it is in favor of the reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons. It is prepared for ridding Europe totally of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical weapons.

This is the situation which has come about before the start of the next round of talks in Geneva which, I repeat, begin tomorrow. Such are the positions of the sides.

U.S. Actions Hit

LD301036 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 30 May 85

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Sergey Fanton]

[Text] The second round of Soviet-American talks begins in Geneva today. As is known, the outcome of the first round gave no joy to the international public, yielding no specific results. Yet great hopes rested on this meeting. On the eve of the talks, agreement was reached between Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz: The Geneva meeting would discuss the prevention of an arms race in space and stopping it on earth. The American side initially agreed that the military-strategic situation in the world and the level of weapons now accumulated do not permit the limitation, nor especially the reduction, of nuclear arsenals before reliable measures are adopted to prevent the transfer of the arms race into space. In fact, it was precisely this approach that opened up the path to the Geneva talks. But it had hardly begun when the American delegation began to refuse to discuss the plans of the Reagan Administration for the militarization of space, trying to accuse the USSR of putting forward some kind of preliminary conditions and taking up an allegedly too harsh position.

I recall that while the talks were under way in Geneva, the Pentagon was in full swing giving out contracts to the military-industrial complex for the notorious star wars program. Washington is now trying with all its might to involve the NATO allies and Japan in this so-called defensive initiative, which in fact is aimed at making a first nuclear strike on the socialist countries with impunity. The cynicism has gone so far that Kampelman, the leader of the American delegation in Geneva, was called to Washington to help push the program for the MX first-strike super-missile through Congress.

The many constructive proposals of the USSR, and also the measures adopted by our country unilaterally--for example, the moratorium on deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and cessation of implementation of other retaliatory measures in Europe for the duration of the talks--remain unattended in Geneva. Understandably, all these actions by the American side have done nothing to promote progress. It is time for Washington to understand that the Soviet Union is not striving to outdo its partner in the talks, but to benefit the general cause of peace. The Soviet delegation, as before, will be seeking a practical agreement, based on the principles of equality and equal security, in an acceptable, reasonable period, in the second round of talks.

World 'Alarm' at U.S.

LD301544 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 30 May 85

[Text] Moscow, 30 May (TASS)--Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS military observer writes:

The second round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons has begun in Geneva. The USSR is doing and will continue to do everything possible to ensure that the accord reached on 8 January 1985 on the subject and objectives of the talks is embodied in specific proposals. It has reaffirmed its readiness to seek in a business-like manner mutually acceptable decisions in Geneva. It has declared that if the militarization of space is prevented, very big cuts in both strategic nuclear armaments and medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe will be possible.

Time is, of course, needed to resolve the complicated range of interrelated problems being tackled at the talks. However, given joint efforts from both sides, it is already possible now to create both favorable conditions for the meeting itself and a more healthy political atmosphere around it.

This is precisely the aim of the Soviet proposal for halting all work on developing offensive space weapons and for a freeze on existing arsenals of nuclear missiles for the duration of the talks. This is precisely why the USSR introduced a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles, suspended other countermeasures in Europe, and called on the other side to give an adequate reply to this display of goodwill.

These initiatives have been appreciated throughout the world. This approach is also shared by realistically minded politicians in the United States itself. Let us recall, for example, the letter sent by U.S. senators P. Simon and M. Hatfield to President R. Reagan. Having expressed concern that the continuation of the arms race could undermine the very aim of the Geneva talks, they called on the U.S. Administration to study seriously the question of halting the further production and deployment of nuclear weapons.

And what about the U.S. leadership then? Having failed to manifest any sort of constructiveness at the first round of the talks, even now the United States has not changed its stance: M. Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation in Geneva, admitted that the instructions given to him by the President have remained "basically the same" as they were. Having rejected "straight off" the Soviet proposal concerning a moratorium and creating offensive space weapons and the freezing of nuclear weapons, Washington is continuing to carry out programs for expanding and perfecting its nuclear arsenals at full pace. It is striving at any cost to pull through plans to create a new class of weapons—offensive space weapons, and putting into practice the "star wars" program, which according to the definition of G. Boll, former deputy U.S. secretary of state, is "one of the most irresponsible actions" of the modern age.

All these actions by the U.S. Administration, its unwillingness to review in a decisive way its stance with a view to constructiveness and a business-like approach, are evoking alarm from world public, which desires stronger peace and a halt to the arms race. The international public has the right to hope that in spite of the sabotage by the enemies of detente, common sense, political realism, a sense of responsibility will ultimately gain the upper hand.

U.S. Not 'Serious Partner'

LD310650 Moscow TASS in English 0637 GMT 31 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 31 TASS--TASS Political news analyst Anatoliy Krasikov writes:

Is it possible to trust the U.S. Government as a serious partner at international talks? This question becomes particularly topical in view of the beginning of the second round of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva.

The joint statement which Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz adopted on January 8, this year, clearly defined that it must be the objective of the talks to prevent an arms race in outer space and to end it on Earth.

The first round of the talks proved without result, since the U.S. side conducts itself as if no agreement was reached on January 8 on the subject and objectives of the talks, and evades discussing the question of non-militarization of outer space. Meanwhile, renunciation of the discussion of this matter and the realization of plans being nurtured by Washington to create strike space arms are capable not only of undermining the Geneva talks but also of canceling the very prospect for an end to the arms race.

Spokesmen of the U.S. leadership do not stint statements as to their desire to conduct talks with the Soviet Union and their readiness "to show flexibility". In actual fact, judging by everything, they need the talks only for reassuring their people with the semblance of a dialogue with the Soviet Union, and not for reaching a mutually acceptable accord.

Unfortunately, the experience of the Soviet Union's previous talks with the United States on arms limitation problems does not give ground for optimism. The SALT-2 agreement which was worked out and signed after years-long discussion has not been ratified by the U.S. side. Now that the arms buildup in the United States has attained the ceilings set by the SALT-2 agreement, there is talk in Washington that SALT-2 should be regarded as simply non-existent.

As practice shows, U.S. leaders think nothing of renouncing their signature under international-legal documents. How many such documents were denounced through Washington's unilateral decision in the recent past! The de facto evasion of the January 8 accord is only another link in the same chain.

CSO: 5200/1221

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

GORBACHEV SAID TO MAINTAIN HARD LINE ON ARMS

AU311041 Paris AFP in English 1038 GMT 31 May 85

[Text] Rome, May 31 (AFP) — The Soviet Union has entered a "new phase" of reform and modernization under Mikhail Gorbachev, Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi said after a three-day visit to the Soviet Union.

But Mr Craxi, speaking to reporters on his return yesterday, also said the Soviet leader had shown little flexibility on arms issues. Mr Craxi said that Mr Gorbachev had shown during more than four hours of talks that he "is absolutely not a cold fish. He is aware that he belongs to a generation that will inaugurate a new phase in Soviet management."

To signal his desire for change, Mr Gorbachev will convene the 27th congress of the Soviet Communist Party on the date of the 20th congress, the anniversary of the end of Stalinism, Mr Craxi said. The exact date of the congress has not been formally announced. Mr Craxi also said Mr Gorbachev had shown flexibility on some international issues, notably the Middle East.

But Moscow was maintaining a hard-line posture on disarmament, he said, adding that he had transmitted information that might lead to more Soviet flexibility at current arms reduction talks in Geneva. He did not elaborate. In an unusual aside, Mr Craxi reported, Mr Gorbachev asked him his advice on the Geneva talks. Mr Craxi replied: "Continue to do this job that you know well, that of a negotiator."

CSO: 5200/2639

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

ITALY'S PSI AIDE ON GENEVA, CRAXI-GORBACHEV TALKS

PMO41449 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 1 Jun 85 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Valdo Spini Addresses Bonn Seminar"]

[Text] PSI Foreign Affairs Chief Deputy Valdo Spini took part in the sixth Ebert Foundation seminar in Bonn devoted to European-U.S. relations in security matters, which was also attended by representatives of the U.S. Administration and European and U.S. experts.

During his visit Spini also met with SPD Chairman Will Brandt, Secretary Peter Glotz, Deputy Chairman Ehmke, and Karsten Voigt.

Spini began by conveying to the seminar Prime Minister Craxi's regrets at being unable to accept the invitation to address the meeting. Craxi, Spini said, has just returned from Moscow, from what we consider a useful visit—the first by a NATO government leader to the Soviet Union's new leader, Gorbachev, at the start of the second round of negotiations in Geneva.

East-West relations are experiencing a difficult time, since the Geneva talks have not yet made any visible progress.

This is also reflected in a degree of frustration on the part of the European public, inasmuch as the European countries are not directly involved in the negotiations even though they have a profound interest in their success. This is because Europe is the area most sensitive to the ups and downs in East-West relations. Spini continued: We have a profound interest—and this has to be said at a European-U.S. seminar—in a positive outcome to the negotiations, so we must try to contribute to the improvement of the present state of relations and to the success of the actual negotiations to the limits of our abilities and responsibilities. This is what Italy is doing through its intensive diplomatic activity.

But we cannot consider Europe's expectations in isolation from the more general context of the issue. For instance, not long ago the Euromissiles issue seemed the crucial one to good relations with the Soviets, but now it seems to have been relegated to the second rank and has been largely replaced by the SDI debate.

At the moment the Soviet Union does not seem willing to make progress in the other areas of negotiation without a prior solution to the space problem.

Taking for granted the U.S. desire to proceed with space research, is the negotiation problem therefore insoluble?

In this connection Italy's diplomatic activity could perhaps provide some pointers. According to what Ambassador Nitze told Prime Minister Craxi at their meeting before Craxi's visit to Moscow, it seems that the United States is willing to discuss in Geneva what kind of space research should be the subject of monitoring, what kinds of weapons should be eliminated, what kinds of weapons are consistent with non-destabilizing defense purposes and what are not, and, last, what combinations of defensive-cum-offensive systems would be possible.

Our prime minister therefore believes he has conveyed to the Soviets certain points on which to deliberate, which could prompt the Soviets to adopt a more flexible stance or in any event to want to continue the talks and negotiations.

This is our hope and our proposed commitment. We cannot accept the Soviet stance of a simple banning of U.S. space research, partly because it is impossible to monitor on both--USSR and U.S.--sides the observance of such a commitment. But the Soviets must be given an essential counterassurance, in terms of guarantees that the results of this research cannot grant one side unnatural advantages such as to alter strategic balances and to have destabilizing effects.

In this connection we stress the need for observance of the ABM treaty and for all activity outside the ABM treaty to be the subject of prior negotiations. A joint stance among the European countries on SDI has not yet been established. But it would be helpful to bring together all the stances and conditions asserted by the Europeans in a comprehensive joint stance, to avoid either an uncritical and passive acceptance of the U.S. proposals or a mere alignment with the negative Soviet arguments.

In any case we must realize that this must be examined carefully and for as long as necessary to understand its implications.

However, the SDI issue must not prevent us from making every effort to reduce the level of nuclear weapons in Europe on both sides. In this connection one of our delegation's efforts in Moscow aimed to explore the possibility of the Soviets' accepting different velocities in the three areas of negotiation, with special reference to INF, that is, Euromissiles, taking account of all the nuclear forces present in Europe.

According to our information the Soviets have not yet given signs of any such willingness, stating that they are awaiting a NATO initiative.

But Europe must have a joint stance on the negotiations in order to make this a viable reality.

The change that has taken place in the Soviet attitude the EEC has thus been interesting, as Willy Brandt stressed, specifically citing Craxi's talks in this connection. To assess this change it could be helpful to recall that when Spain and Portugal were admitted to the EEC at the end of March Moscow issued a negative comment. Now, on the occasion of Prime Minister Craxi's visit, the Soviets have indicated that they are preparing a document to appear in the near future in which CEMA will propose closer cooperation with the EEC, with a view to drafting a joint document.

Of course, there may have been tactical or manipulatory aims in this stance, but we welcome it as an acknowledgement of the reality of European building.

But this reality depends on us Europeans too. The Eureka program is a good idea. We cannot carry on talking about milk and potatoes while still lacking, as Europeans, a joint policy in the field of high technology, especially space technology.

But the problem is that there is insufficient political will to make progress in European building, especially in the institutional field, which is the precondition for progress in the field of political and security cooperation too. We must remember the importance of the European Council session in Milan at the end of June, from which our public expects the convening of a conference of members states for a new European treaty. In other words, we must be consistent. In fact it is necessary to stress a point which perhaps was not made sufficiently prominent at the Ebert Foundation seminar. We cannot separate the question of security and cooperation in security matters from the issue of a greater commitment to European unity--a historical task to which every European socialist party now seems increasingly committed.

CSO: 5200/2640

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

XINHUA ANALYSIS OF SECOND ROUND PROSPECTS

OW311052 Beijing XINHUA in English 1031 GMT 31 May 85

["Analysis: New Arms Talks Rule Out Optimism (by Ren Zhengda)"]—XINHUA headline]

[Text] Geneva, May 30 (XINHUA) — After a month's interval, the U.S.-Soviet arms control talks will return to the spotlight today with gloomy prospects for success.

In spite of repeated discussions on both sides with their allies and the Geneva talks between the two countries' foreign ministers since the first round of talks last month, the United States and the Soviet Union are no closer to each other.

Each side has stepped up its propaganda campaign trying to lay the blame at the door of the other for the failure of the first round of talks.

The Soviet side rapped the U.S. for "undermining the talks" because of its "lack of a constructive attitude."

The United States responded that the Soviet Union "artificially set roadblocks" and made the talks "more difficult."

On the problem of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), none of the superpowers has shown any sign of budging an inch.

The United States claims that the Soviet Union has a 10-1 advantage in medium-range missiles, a favourable ratio of land-based inter-continent strategic missiles, and have already started on the development of space weapons. Therefore, the U.S. is trying to cut the Soviet edge in land-based missiles and to develop the SDI program.

The Soviet Union maintains that the two countries are generally balanced in medium-ranged, strategic and space weapons and that the U.S. push for SDI is "destroying the existing strategic military balance." The Soviet Union thus insists on an "organic connection" among the three arms talks and aims at undermining the SDI program.

Also, both sides are accelerating the arms race to reinforce their positions at the negotiation table. Washington has quickened the pace in research and development of space weapons. This month, the United States announced the establishment of the third largest combined organization to carry out the "star wars" program, and brisk consultations are underway with several dozen West European industrial groups to involve them in the "star wars" program. Washington also announced that tests of laser weapons in space will continue next month.

The Soviet Union will not allow itself to be outdone. Its military and government leaders have come out recently declaring its resolve to face the "grave challenge" posed by the "star wars" program through the adoption of "counter measures." Soviet Defense Minister Sergey L. Sokolov has admitted that his country is conducting research in space for military purposes.

This sharp confrontation between the two superpowers is nowhere more apparent than in the statements their delegations made on their arrival here today. U.S. chief negotiator Max Kampelman issued a call for drastic cuts in "offensive nuclear weapons, making no mention of "space defensive weapons." Soviet delegation leader Viktor Karpov, however, zeroed in on the U.S. "star wars" program, blaming it as the source of all obstacles to the talks.

It appears that the United States is set to push ahead with its "star wars" program, while the Soviet Union is also adamantly determined to do away with it. This stiff stance on both sides has cast a shadow over the ongoing negotiations which leads local observers to doubt whether the current talks will produce any tangible progress on vital issues.

CSO: 5200/4043

SPACE ARMS

USSR: U.S. MILITARY SPACE PROGRAMS SURVEYED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3,
Mar 85 (signed to press 13 Feb 85) pp 40-50

[Article by G. Khozin: "The Exploration of Space and Social Consciousness in the United States"]

[Excerpts] In the United States the system of goals and the nature of the arguments in support of the progress of American astronautics reflect in full the specific features of the development of state-monopoly capitalism in the latter half of the 20th Century in its endeavor not only to strengthen, relying on military power, its positions in world politics and economics but also to impose on its own people and on as large a number of other states as possible the philosophical and ideological stereotypes at the basis of which is the idea of the United States' "exceptional role" in world history.

In the period of the development of American astronautics which has elapsed sufficient material has been accumulated for an analysis of the evolution of the United States' social consciousness in a comprehension of the principal goals in the name of which space should be explored and the vision of the political, economic, military, ideological and other tasks in states' day-to-day activity on planet Earth to whose accomplishment the exploration of space should be subordinated.

Such analysis is all the more important in that considerable changes occurred in American astronautics at the start of the 1980's in the direction of its further militarization and broader use in the interests of the United States' acquisition of one-sided military advantages. Not only official statements by the President, the defense secretary and other high-ranking figures but also actual practical measures testify to such intentions on the part of the administration: a steep increase in appropriations, the expansion of R&D and the creation at first of air force and navy space commands and subsequently the Defense Department's Joint Space Command. All this activity is fraught with dangerous consequences not only for the United States but all mankind.

The "star wars" concept shatters the hopes of liberal and realistic circles of American society that the progress of astronautics will if only on a limited scale promote the development of the economy, contribute to the realization of social programs and stimulate thoughts as to a future of mankind which has room for constructive international cooperation, harmony with nature and humanist ideals.

Military Rivalry at the 'Space Frontier'

There are many instances in American astronautics testifying to attempts by influential political and military-industrial groupings to ensure the maximum possible degree under the actual conditions of militarization of the national space program. Such steps are being accompanied by an active propaganda racket spurring in Americans fear and a feeling of uncertainty in the face of the alleged insidious designs of the Soviet Union in space. We would recall that the first serious document on the prospects of the development of astronautics prepared by the Rand Corporation shortly after World War II (prior to the start of space launches) virtually represented a list of the military assignments which could be tackled by manned and unmanned space vehicles. A principal conclusion of this document proclaimed: the creation of military artificial Earth satellites could bring about changes in international relations comparable in nature with the explosion of the atomic bomb. When the first Soviet artificial satellite was launched, the thought began to be instilled in Americans that conquest of the "high frontier" of space would mean domination of the entire planet.

The "space element" was immediately incorporated in the calculations of the two powers' balance of nuclear forces, which had allegedly changed to the benefit of the USSR. Three work groups studied the reasons for the United States' lag in space research and submitted proposals to the government on measures to eliminate the gap. The (Geyter) Commission, the Senate Armed Services Committee Subcommittee for Combat Readiness, which was chaired by Sen L. Johnson, and a group of experts set up by the Rockefeller Foundation proceeded in their investigations along the traditional path of evaluating scientific-technical achievements and recommended: the speedier dispersal of the strategic aviation base, the start of the development of ABM systems, a strengthening of civil defense, the increased role of fundamental applied research and the strengthening of conventional armed forces intended for waging so-called limited wars.

In his documentary novel about the first stage of the manned spacecraft program in the United States the American journalist T. Wolfe quotes the following pronouncement by L. Johnson (at that time Senate majority leader): "The Roman Empire controlled the world because it knew how to build roads. The British Empire--with sea exploration--occupied the dominating position inasmuch as it had the ships at its disposal. In the aviation age we (the United States--C.Kh.) acquired power because we had the aircraft. Now the communists have occupied a beachhead in space."^{*}

The aspiration from the very outset to turn states' activity in the exploration and use of space into an arena of the bitterest political and military rivalry is displayed unequivocally in statements of the U.S. political leadership, the leaders of the military department and corporations of the military-industrial complex and of a number of scientists even. Although some American experts claim that the social consciousness as a whole has not perceived such

* T. Wolfe, "The Right Stuff," New York, 1980, pp 57-58.

extremist purposes in respect of astronautics, they continue to be foisted on new generations of Americans. In the definite moral-political atmosphere which this administration or the other forms in the state, the mass media are once again beginning to operate with them, extolling the "wisdom and farsightedness" of the leaders and scientists of past decades.*

Back in the first years of the development of the space program, when attempts were made to inculcate in Americans' social consciousness a feeling of offended patriotism and fear in the face of a strong space power--the Soviet Union--military space projects were named the most important for the future of American astronautics. On the eve and at the outset of the 1960's realistic and semifantastic plans of offensive and defensive weapons systems designed for deployment in space rained down upon the heads of Americans as from a cornucopia. From orbital bombers to an asteroid which they wished to "catch" in space and, pushing it from its trajectory, direct toward enemy territory--such was the range of the sinister imagination of the militarists. The facts show that at that time it was possible to realize only some military-applied space projects. However, the attempts to impose on the public a stereotype--the perception of astronautics as a sphere of economic and scientific-technical activity working predominantly for military purposes--are incessant to this day, albeit experiencing periods of "surge and decline" depending on the political climate in the United States and in the international arena.

One such "surge" of militarist intoxication occurred at the end of the 1960's, when a debate developed in the United States concerning the need for the creation of a wide-ranging ABM system. The possibilities of "thin" and "compact" ABM systems which it was contemplated deploying on American territory were once again extolled in every way to public opinion. Sea, air and space frontiers of an ABM system--means of intercepting ballistic missiles in flight based correspondingly on ships, aircraft and on board space vehicles--were to have been their logical continuation. Americans were told the price which they were to have paid for the realization of these illusory plans--hundreds of billions of dollars. However, commonsense at that time prevailed. As a result of strategic arms limitation talks quantitative and qualitative ceilings for offensive systems were imposed, while the Soviet-American ABM Limitation Treaty and the protocol thereto determined the number of ABM facility areas to be created by the sides--one each.

* The majority of books on astronautics which appeared in the United States at the start of the 1980's aimed at a broad readership actively discuss questions of the military use of space. They thereby endeavor to create the impression that the R. Reagan administration's policy of the sharp militarization of the U.S. space program corresponds to the realities of the current international situation. In these works the authors frequently underpin their conclusions with data and estimates pertaining to the period of the inception and the first stages of the development of American astronautics. Among such books we may cite: H. Stine, "Confrontation in Space," Englewood Cliffs (N.J.), 1981; D. Baker, "The Shape of Wars to Come," New York, 1981; J. Canan, "War in Space," New York, 1982; D. Ritchie, "Space War," New York, 1982; T. Karas, "The New High Ground Strategies and Weapons of Space-Age War," New York, 1983; "Shoot the Moon: National Interests and Military Use of Space," edited by W. Durch, New York, 1984.

Under the conditions of the normalization of Soviet-American relations, when constructive political dialogue and various forms of scientific-technical cooperation were of benefit to their immediate participants and all mankind, the American military, ignoring the political realities of the mid-1970's, continued to campaign for a further spread of the arms race to space in circumvention of current international treaties. Gen J. Morgan advanced in a speech in 1976, for example, the following argument: "The space program was once criticized as a luxury which the state could not permit itself. In the next decade it will be one of the surest gambles which our country has ever made in ensuring its long-term defense."*

At the start of the 1980's the U.S. Republican Administration, taking advantage of the latest achievements of science and technology, endeavored unambiguously to expand the scale of the arms race and move it in qualitatively new areas. In arguments concerning the prospects for the development of American astronautics R. Reagan has surpassed all predecessors in presidential office. Taking cover behind the demagogic slogan concerning the need "to strengthen U.S. security," he announced the intention of preparing to wage war in space.

In July 1982 R. Reagan issued a special directive on new U.S. policy in the study and use of space in the 1980's and the more distant period. The wording of this official document corresponds to the letter and spirit of the most bellicose political declarations of the President and his immediate entourage. The text of the directive says, for example, that the United States "rejects any state's claims to sovereignty over space" and that it has embarked on the development of so-called antisatellites which are to serve as a "means of deterrence against threats to the space systems of the United States and its allies." While paying lipservice to its adherence to the use of space for peaceful purposes the Republican administration openly declares that this does not preclude but permits military activity in space. Political leaders and high-ranking Defense Department figures declare that "interference in the operation of their space systems will be regarded as an infringement of the sovereign right" of the American state.

The Pentagon budget provides for the allocation in the next few years of several billion dollars for the accomplishment of such tasks as the increased "survivability and protection" of space systems; the speediest commissioning of "antisatellite" systems; and the increased efficiency of space observation and early warning facilities. The Republican administration intends unilaterally establishing around its space apparatus a "cordon sanitaire," violation of which by satellites or spacecraft of other countries will afford the United States the "right" to use space weapons.

On 23 March 1983 R. Reagan informed Americans that he had given orders for the start of "all-embracing and intensive operations on the formation of a long-term program of R&D which would make it possible to approach elimination of the threat emanating from nuclear missiles." In his opinion, the level of technological development which has been reached affords an opportunity for the development of space-based means of intercepting ballistic missiles in flight.

* THE AIR FORCE MAGAZINE, January 1976, p 50.

In initiating extensive scientific R&D for the creation of qualitatively new weapons systems, space weapons included, and embarking on the production of new strategic missiles, bombers and other types of weapons and combat equipment the Republican administration is harming the normalization of international relations and the idea of disarmament. The most unconstructive trend of scientific-technical progress, which is profitable merely to comparatively small groupings of military-industrial corporations, is beginning to develop. Seeking a way out of the crisis economic and foreign policy difficulties on this path is, of course, futile.

Now, in the 1980's, man's space potential has grown appreciably and become more accomplished and diverse. With its assistance it is possible to tackle far-reaching socioeconomic tasks, facilitate an easing of the seriousness of the mineral-raw material and energy, demographic, ecological and other global problems, contribute to the struggle against starvation and disease and help formerly colonial countries overcome backwardness. But all this is feasible if space is peaceful. For this reason the calls of cosmonauts and astronauts, progressive scientists and engineers and the public of all continents for a struggle for peaceful space have a more pertinent ring now than ever before. The unification of the efforts of states, including those with different systems, in the noble cause of the peaceful exploration and use of space will be of benefit to all mankind and will help accelerate the pace of scientific-technical progress.

American Astronautics and the Future of Mankind

If we attempt to evaluate the main directions of ideological influence on America's population on the part of the administrations by whose efforts the national space program has been realized up to the present time and also of the leadership of the military department and the corporations of the military-industrial complex, we can see a persistent endeavor to foist on the mass consciousness of Americans a number of flawed stereotypes. These are primarily the identification of space with an arena of the competition of states with different social systems, and considerations of political prestige, military superiority and leadership are given pride of place, what is more. Such stereotypes are expressed in Americans' consciousness quite distinctly, but their perception of space as a promising sphere of the application of man's forces is very complex.

The attitude toward the exploration and use of space as the forward edge of scientific-technical progress served as the reason for many social groups in the United States, particularly the youth, coming to actively link this sphere of activity with the possibilities which are opening up to mankind as his production forces develop. Combined with the spirit of "frontierism," this perception has turned astronautics into a kind of key to the solution of the problems with which American society has been faced and which will continue to appear in the future. "If we were able to put a man on the Moon," Americans love to repeat, "any problem on Earth is within our capabilities."*

* It should be said in this connection that sometimes attempts are made to categorize the constant attention to astronautics as a reason for the exacerbation of many of the contradictions of American society, in the sphere of relations with nature included: "Man has reached the surface of the Moon, but the launching site was built amid debris and waste. It is now fashionable to speak of a removal of the debris at a cost of destruction of the launching site itself" (AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, 22 March 1971, p 62).

In his address to the U.S. National Engineering Academy Convention on 10 November 1975 J. Fletcher, then director of NASA, emphasized that "the United States' leap toward the stars" had been abruptly slowed by the realities of the 1970's. Pollution of the environment, an increase in the anthropogenic loads on the oceans and the atmosphere, the depletion of mineral-raw material and energy resources, the imperfection of means of communication, the deterioration in the state of the cities, numerous floods, earthquakes and interruptions in food supply and the threat of starvation and the "explosive" growth of population--all this made it "inevitable that our (U.S.--G.Kh.) technical potential, whose refinement stimulated space exploration, be geared to the solution of a billion terrestrial problems. Currently our space programs are to a considerable extent oriented toward their 'solution' and have already produced notable results."* Such constructive, in some aspects humanist, purposes in the perception of astronautics, which were also very typical of the U.S. social consciousness in connection with the memory of the success of the Soyuz-Apollo project, as a serious obstacle in the way of the designs for the unlimited militarization of space which have been presented by the R. Reagan administration.

Many American scientists advocate a balanced approach to the exploration and practical use of space. This attitude of the scientific community toward the "preferable" trends of the development of astronautics has been reflected in the documents of the authoritative commissions and groups of experts engaged in different periods in an analysis of the prospects of the development of astronautics.**

The American public's perception of the basic trends of the development of space technology and also the complex of political, socioeconomic and moral-ethical goals, at whose service Americans would like to put the potential of the national space program, manifestly fail to correspond to the views of conservative political groupings, Department of Defense representatives and the leaders of military business.

Increasingly broad circles of American society are inclining toward the thought that the solution of the problems of the peaceful conquest of space is possible only through a reorganization of the system of international relations and demands a strengthening of peace and a limitation of the arms race. "The fact that war has led man into space by no means signifies that a halt to military activity there will lessen the aspiration to continue the exploration and use of space," the American expert D. Deudney writes. "...Under current conditions, if mankind is able to take a further step and begin a 'race' in the name of the accomplishment of practical tasks, activity in space could be returned to the atmosphere of enthusiasm of the first years of the space age."***

* THE JOURNAL OF AEROSPACE EDUCATION, January 1976, p 2.

** See "A Forecast of Space Technology 1980-2000," NASA SP-387, Washington, 1976, pp 2-1.

*** D. Deudney, "Space: The High Frontier in Perspective," Worldwatch Paper 50, Washington, August 1982, p 55.

On the day that R. Reagan proclaimed the presidential directive on space S. Matsunaga, senator from the state of Hawaii, wrote: "The disarmament talks must necessarily continue, but the biggest opportunities are opening up not in cramped conference halls but in the expanses of space.... Tom Stafford declared that when opening the hatch of the Appolo craft and greeting his colleague Aleksey Leonov he believed the 'we had begun on Earth a new era in man's history'. We must give the Staffords and Leonovs of this planet one more chance."*

K.E. Tsiolkovskiy, founder of the theory of space flight, whose humanist ideas are being recognized increasingly in other countries, including the United States, connected the development of cosmonautics with the prospects of the true progress of civilization: "...life and man's wisdom and improvement are infinite. His progress is eternal."** As a most important component of scientific-technical progress, cosmonautics, the scientist believed, will not only contribute to the development of the system of knowledge of the outside world but will also make it possible to regulate natural processes more rationally and improve the social setup. Socialism and capitalism are the purveyors of opposite philosophical and sociopolitical views of the present and the future of mankind. And the progress of civilization as a whole and, consequently, the direction of human activity in space will depend to a large extent on which fundamental propositions of their philosophy, political slogans and goals and methods of economic planning are perceived by the majority of mankind as the basis for the application of his energy.

A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR foreign minister, said in conversation with political commentators on 13 January 1985: "...in order for the threat of war to be removed, in a word, if there is an aspiration toward lasting peace, it is essential that an arms race not begin in space and be halted on Earth."

There is no force which can be counterposed to the peoples of the planet's aspiration to peace. The emissaries of mankind must continue flights into space in the name of peace and progress of civilization. Friendly handshakes in space of representatives of different countries and peoples are landmarks of man's infinite ascent to the stars.

* THE WASHINGTON POST, 4 June 1982.

** K.E. Tsiolkovskiy, "Raketa v kosmicheskoye prostranstvo" [Rocket Into Space], Moscow, 1963, p 97.

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SPACE ARMS

USSR'S VELIKHOV CITED ON POSSIBLE SDI COUNTERMEASURES

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 4 Jun 85 pp 1-2

[APN item under the rubric "News and Views"]

[Text] The American "star wars" programme is extremely vulnerable. It consists of a whole number of systems with very fragile links. These systems locate targets and ensure guidance, communication and control. All of them are vulnerable. To disrupt this system, says Yevgeny Velikhov, vice president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and chairman of the Soviet Scientists for Peace Committee, one need not destroy the whole of it. It is enough and easy to destroy just a small part of this system, to make a hole in it, and it will become useless because all missiles can be launched through this hole. So contrary to what we are told by the U.S. Administration, this is not a "wonder-weapon" for defense.

There is yet another circumstance which makes this system vulnerable. Maybe non-specialists do not know that it is not only warheads that can be launched to space with a missile. There will be tens of thousands of decoys which will attract a considerable part of the said system. This was well understood in 1972, which explains why the difficulties of countering a strategic attack were then recognized.

Moreover, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the price tag of a counter system will be dozens if not hundreds of times smaller than that of the projected system itself. This factor must not be ignored.

A real and effective answer can be a relevant development of the retaliatory force which now deters the United States from unleashing a nuclear war. Many effective measures are possible here. They were repeatedly discussed in the Federation of American Scientists, the Union of Concerned Scientists of the United States and the Soviet Scientists for Peace Committee. The number of retaliatory weapons can be increased, and, finally, new delivery vehicles can be developed by the Americans, like a small-size mobile one-warhead missile. Such a measure will enable the owner of a space system to increase the number of combat space stations dozens of times and, hence, the cost of the system itself will skyrocket unpredictably.

It is possible to reduce the travel time of a missile, to protect the latter itself, or to produce a big number of false and relatively cheap missiles. It is possible to launch different "antidotes" against stations by other methods as well. The Soviet Union has an adequate potential and all the necessary scientific and technical resources for effective response.

It is very important that the initiators of this programme, and the military-industrial complex of the United States, which is most of all interested in the massive production of space-based components of the system, should understand that it is prospectless from the military-strategic point of view.

CSO: 5200/1234

SPACE ARMS

IZVESTIYA CITES AFRICAN CRITICISMS OF SDI

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 20 May 85 pp 1-3

[Article by F. Konopikhin: "Africa Against the Star Wars"]

[Text] The Star Wars Programme of President Reagan has become a subject of heated debates on both sides of the Atlantic. No wonder. The buildup of the arms race in space primarily threatens the very existence of the people in Europe and North America. But the people on other continents are not staying away from the mounting struggle against the contemplated new round of militarization either. The sinister schemes of the U.S. administration arouse grave concern in Africa. "The development of secret weapons of mass destruction must step aside before the problem of the survival of the human race," said the Nigerian head of state, Muhammadu Buhari.

The drought-ravaged Africa which faces colossal economic difficulties after the long decades of colonial oppression refuses to accept the fact that Washington is planning to shovel new billions of dollars into the furnace of war preparations at a time when hundreds of thousands of Africans are dying of hunger. "Huge sums are being spent on the development of increasingly sophisticated means of killing in the world where billions of people hardly have the minimal means to survive," says the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, Denis Sassou-Nguesso. "It is obvious that the arms race of ever new weapons does not guarantee any greater security. On the contrary, it is the source of a still greater risk for mankind."

The concern of the African public is quite understandable. This is because the peoples of Africa have to bear a considerable share of the burden of arms spending. As some observers believe, of the trillion dollars which is the estimated aggregate price of the deployment of this new American arms system in space, the funds obtained by transnational corporations and foreign investors as a result of the exploitation of the mineral and other natural resources of Africa will make up about one-third.

The initiators of the militarization of space are powerless to convince the African public that the Reagan programme has an "exclusively research character" and is aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons and reducing the threat of war. The people in Africa perfectly realize that the accomplishment of the American

programme will jeopardize the security of all states, including African countries. Instead of developing new arms systems on the ground and in space, it is imperative, say the Africans, to reduce nuclear armaments and to scrap them altogether in the future. "The stick which can put out an eye is not to be sharpened but broken off," reads an old African proverb.

The press in many African countries sharply criticizes the politicians and public figures who are assessing the Star Wars as a conflict which will supposedly not affect Africa. "Nuclear war in any form will equally affect all, and there will be no victory or defeat in such a war: only complete destruction and a lethal contamination of the atmosphere," writes the Kenyan paper SUNDAY STANDARD.

In case of a global conflict Africa will be unable to evade a direct strike since nuclear explosives will be targeted on foreign bases of the warring countries, writes a commentator of the Nigerian paper THE GUARDIAN. He singles out Egypt, Kenya, Somalia, Tunisia, Morocco and also South Africa as the countries whose territory is being used or may be used by the American armed forces for deploying their missile installations or stationing their bombers there. The Kenyan newspapers point out that the U.S. allies have practically no opportunity to control the presence of nuclear explosives on their territory and have no right to ban their deployment.

In this connection the Lagos-based newspaper THE NEW NIGERIAN points to the adventurism of the position of President Reagan who puts the interests of the military-industrial complex above the need to preserve human civilization. Another Nigerian paper, THE NATIONAL CONCORD, points to the contradiction between Reagan's appeals for stopping the nuclear arms race and his Star Wars plans. Condemning the Pentagon's drive for military superiority over the USSR, the paper points out that the Soviet Union was always forced to respond to new challenges from the United States which was always the initiator of each new round of the arms race.

Seeking to block the insane plans of Washington to transfer the arms race into space, the peace-loving public of Africa duly appreciates the importance and urgency of the Soviet initiatives aimed at preventing the militarization of space and at curbing the arms race.

(IZVESTIA, May 10. In full.)

CSO: 5200/1227

SPACE ARMS

TASS REPORTS MITTERRAND COMMENTS ON SDI IN LIBERATION INTERVIEW

LD101332 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 10 May 85

[Text] Paris May 10 TASS — France finally turned down the U.S. offer to participate in the "Strategic Defense Initiative". The newspaper LIBERATION says today that President Francois Mitterrand said this to a group of French journalists at the Elysee Palace. Touching upon U.S. space military programmes, the French head of state said that France was not going to play any role in a system in which it would not be equal to the USA. At the same time Mitterrand said that the strategy of the future century was linked to space.

According to him, during his conversation with President Reagan in Bonn the latter suggested that French companies could be "subcontractors" in the U.S. "star wars" programme. Touching upon reports on the possible participation of French companies in the "Strategic Defense Initiative", the president said that he so far had no information on that.

During his conversation with journalists, West Germany's attitude to Washington's "Strategic Defence Initiative" and French-West German relations were also discussed. According to Mitterrand, Bonn's intention to agree to the U.S. proposals and to become involved in the militarisation of space was explained by West Germany's desire, as it has no right to develop nuclear weapons, to circumvent certain "bans introduced in the post-war period".

As for the results of the conference of the leaders of the seven major capitalist countries in Bonn, Mitterrand criticised the very idea of such meetings of Western leaders. According to him, those summits are declining and have become a bureaucratic institution but without a definite status. The purposes which were initially pursued by such summits have been distorted and they look more and more like a scene of clashes between antagonists, Mitterrand said. France considers staying away from such a summit in Tokyo next year, he added.

CSO: 5200/1161

SPACE ARMS

CARRINGTON VIEWS SDI ON EVE OF NATO MEETING

AU051600 Paris AFP in English 1555 GMT 5 Jun 85

[Text] Estoril, Portugal, June 5 (AFP) — NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington, on the eve of a meeting of the alliance's 16 defence ministers, spoke here today of European concern over the implications of the U.S. "star wars" project. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization ministers will meet tomorrow and Friday in this Portuguese coastal town, with the U.S. side hoping for an explicit statement of support from its allies for the space-based defence system.

Lord Carrington told a press conference that European opinion of "star wars" was coloured by "anxiety about the effect it could have on Geneva," where the United States and Soviet Union are holding disarmament talks. The Soviet Union has warned that pressing ahead with "star wars," officially known as the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), could jeopardize the talks. Lord Carrington said Europeans "have concerns" about SDI but added that "since the Soviet Union is doing research in the field it would be imprudent for the United States not to do it." He said "nobody knows what the research will show" and it raised questions on NATO strategy which would have to be answered. "When we know a bit more about it it will be necessary to consult inside the alliance and negotiate with the Soviet Union," he added.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz is expected to raise another sensitive East-West issue here — that of whether to stop respecting the 1979 Salt II treaty limiting the superpowers' nuclear arsenals, which expires at the end of the year. Washington plans to launch a seventh Trident-class strategic submarine in September, and if it adheres to the terms of the treaty it will be bound to withdraw an older submarine. The treaty, which was never ratified by the Senate, sets a ceiling of 1,200 independent warheads for each side. Lord Carrington said it was "not up to the Europeans to decide" if Washington should continue to adhere to Salt II.

Mr Shultz was to meet counterparts Sir Geoffrey Howe of Britain, Roland Dumas of France and Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany today for their regular review of the situation at Berlin. Diplomatic sources said the four could also discuss various other subjects, including the Middle East situation. Apart from official business, the gathering here is expected to result in numerous informal meetings between the ministers.

CSO: 5200/2643

SPACE ARMS

REPORT ON MITTERRAND-KOHL MEETING

LE MONDE Views Outcome

PM030709 Paris LE MONDE in French 30 May 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Constant"]

[Text] The meeting between Mr Kohl and Mr Mitterrand could not easily have been expected to produce an agreement on the question which has caused an obvious deterioration in their relations since the industrialized countries' summit in Bonn at the beginning of the month — President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] and the Europeans' attitude to it. The West German observers who felt they could predict a weakening of the French president's rejection on principle of the possibility of Paris' participation in this project were clearly excessively optimistic. Could the West German chancellor, for his part, rally round to the French analysis? Such a hypothesis was equally unlikely, despite the amiable things said by Bonn's (Liberal) Foreign Minister Genscher in Paris last week. After the resounding defeat suffered by the CDU, Mr Kohl's party, in the North Rhine-Westphalia regional elections, fidelity to the Atlantic alliance and the FRG's firm attitude to the Eastern bloc have returned to the forefront of the political debate in the FRG. The Social Democrats (whose chairman Willy Brandt has just had a 5-hour meeting with Mr Gorbachev in Moscow) are asserting their support for the French European Research Coordination Agency [Eureka] project for a European technology and space community and are insisting on the resolutely European character of their choice. Former Chancellor Schmidt had written to his successor on the eve of the Konstanz meeting to urge him to pay more attention to the French plans for both political and industrial reasons. But the CDU leaders cannot afford to turn a deaf ear to Washington's offers of participation in the SDI, especially since they are constantly condemning the opposition's "anti-Americanism." France's attitude is also invoked in Bonn to justify the resolute Atlanticist line of West German diplomacy. To those who, like Mr Genscher, timidly suggest that the time may have come to give a more European dimension to the FRG's security policy, especially by strengthening ties with Paris, people retort that France is no more determined now than before to give a clear pledge to defend Germany — a Germany which our neighbors across the Rhine suspect France is still regarding cynically as a protective zone and not as a forward-based section of the "sanctuary" which it is the deterrent force's mission to protect.

Mr Kohl and Mr Mitterrand stressed that their disagreements on the SDI in no way undermined their European fervor. Bonn's support for the institutional initiatives to be examined at the forthcoming European Council meeting in Milan at the end of June and largely inspired by France — not to say by Mitterrand — should not be lacking. However, despite the support in principle given by Mr Kohl to the Eureka project, the Community is likely to be rather a discouraging sight in 1 month's time: that of a group of states more inclined to build clever legal constructions than to forge a common strategy, and quicker to decree European union than to make it a reality.

SDI, Eureka Disagreement

PM311415 Paris LE MONDE in French 30 May 85 p 3

[Report by Henri de Bresson: "Mitterrand and Kohl Fail To Overcome Disagreements on U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative"]

[Text] Konstanz -- The private meeting which Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand had arranged to try to smooth out their disagreements on Europe, which emerged at the beginning of the month during the industrialized countries' summit in Bonn, did not open up new prospects. Contrary to the hope hitherto sustained in West German government circles, the French head of state reiterated his refusal to participate in President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), forcing his interlocutor to continue his balancing act between Washington and Paris.

Neither the relative intimacy of the Insel hotel or the charms of Lake Konstanz were enough to arouse the ardor of the Franco-German couple. Resigned to expressing himself to the press which came in large numbers despite instructions, the chancellor for once lacked enthusiasm in his traditional set piece on Franco-German friendship.

The expression of disagreement made by Mr Mitterrand on the SDI question was not very friendly toward his host, although the French president tried to portray it as a natural hitch in European cooperation. "You know France's position on the SDI," he said. "It is a point on which our approaches are different, but this is no reason to draw exaggerated conclusions. Franco-German cooperation is fundamental to Europe's success.... We will encounter obstacles. We have already encountered some. This is the story of Europe over the past 30 years."

Mr Mitterrand did not say a word about the efforts made by the chancellor to give him at least verbal satisfaction on European technological cooperation. "It is a vital need for the Europeans" to develop such cooperation in view of the Japanese and American challenges, Mr Kohl nonetheless said after recalling that his decision on the SDI still depends on contacts between Bonn and Washington. On a practical level, the two countries' research ministers will meet shortly to assess progress on the European Research Coordination Agency [Eureka] and the preliminary studies which have at present been entrusted to a bilateral commission of experts. [Footnote] (Jacques Attali, Mr Mitterrand's adviser, and Horst Teltschik, Mr Kohl's adviser, were to meet again on 17 June.) With regard to the SDI, it was decided to have another meeting after the situation had been clarified with Washington.

The talks lasted a little more than 3 hours, including lunch. The two statesmen were each accompanied by just one adviser -- Mr Attali on the French side. The talks were continued during a trip across Lake Konstanz, which ended with a visit to the Birnau Cistercian convent church -- one of the finest examples of German rococo gothic.

Since there was complete disagreement on the SDI, the talks focused, with a view to the 28-29 June European Council meeting in Milan, on European technological cooperation and institutional reform. No details were given.

Even if it sees the light of day, the Eureka project, launched by Paris with the support of West German Foreign Minister Genscher, will have to overcome a number of problems before it becomes the mobilizing initiative which its initiators had dreamed for Europe. The chancellor, who is at present more concerned by the debate which has started in the FRG on "star wars," is only following the French reluctantly. On the eve of the Konstanz meeting, members of the chancellor's entourage denied that Eureka is being given priority by the Germans, which Mr Genscher's statements in Paris last week might have suggested.

People are probably still convinced, as Mr Mitterrand and Mr Kohl recalled, that France and Germany together should play a leading role in European building. But although all goes well, at least on paper, when it comes to solving individual problems like the opening of borders—which Mr Kohl called "everyday human matters"—everything becomes difficult when fundamental problems are discussed.

"Gaullists" Against Atlanticists

The SDI and Eureka questions have revived an old debate between "Gaullists" and Atlanticists, which the Bonn government is not capable of resolving for the time being. According to the latest reports reaching the chancellory, some of its members seem prepared to accept the U.S. offers on virtually any terms. At least they are prepared to do so as long as the U.S. reaffirms some major principles, like the maintenance of nuclear deterrence or the U.S. guarantee to Europe.

Chancellor Kohl's expression of interest in the Eureka project does not conflict with this trend. It would be convenient for him to reach an agreement which would enable him to save face, and not seem completely cut off from Paris. There is obviously a risk that this cooperation might then only be the shadow of the project which had initially been foreseen.

It seems increasingly obvious that the SDI and Eureka projects are not complementary. This is for financial reasons and, as FRG Research Minister Riesenhuber has just stressed, because there are not enough human resources to pursue them at the same time. It will be difficult for Mr Kohl to avoid making a choice.

The European Council meeting in Milan—where, as the chancellor himself recalled, cooperation in the sphere of technology and European political integration will be the two main issues on the agenda—comes too soon to hope for decisive steps to be taken there.

CSO: 5200/2635

SPACE ARMS

MITTERRAND ON EUREKA AT AIR SHOW OPENING

AU311553 Paris AFP in English 1537 GMT 31 May 85

[Text] Paris, May 31 (AFP) — President Francois Mitterrand opened the Paris Air Show today, stating that the French-led European high technology program known as Eureka was "off to a good start" after gaining approval from West Germany and other European partners.

Inaugurating the 36th Paris event, which is the largest air show in the world, he also re-emphasized the close ties between Bonn and Paris. The two countries have been divided over Washington's invitation for allied participation in the multi-billion dollar "star wars" space defense research project. West Germany has endorsed the project, but Paris has rejected it, fearing it will render France's independent nuclear deterrent impotent and give the United States an unassailable lead in advanced technology.

Today, without naming any specific countries, Mr Mitterrand said that "certain of them, initially, seemed to look only across the Atlantic but have come back towards this construction (Eureka), now sensing its importance."

"What we hope for in this project is today much closer to being realized than we thought two months ago," when it was first proposed, he said. He stressed that West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, with whom he met four days ago, had called the Eureka project a "vital necessity" for his country.

Mr Mitterrand said he understood Bonn's attraction to the U.S. space-based Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), as it is formally known, since West Germany has no strategic nuclear deterrent project underway, the same as France. "No doubt, it fills a void in this area and I understand that," he said. The Eureka project is for a space research program primarily for civilian uses and the development of ultramodern technology in such fields as lasers and high-speed computers.

The French president repeated his stand that the Eureka and SDI projects were not competing for the same goals, even if "the necessary technologies to gain control in space have a common base." But he warned that Bonn's participation in both would necessitate choices in its budget potential and the number of scientists available, adding that he supposed "West German leaders were currently examining this question."

Mr Mitterrand also said France was determined to develop a European fighter plane by the 1990's, and that it was ready to renounce its ability to produce such a plane "by itself" if partners West Germany, Britain, Italy, and Spain, did not set "excessive restraints." He did not elaborate. Mr Mitterrand said the European Hermes space plane project was of major importance and could tie in with the European Ariane-5 rocket program.

"In this way, it will be possible to send one or more French persons into space in coming years, and in any case before the year 2000," he said.

He also justified French arms' sales abroad, stating that the international demand for arms allowed France to modernize its industry. But he added that France was "more careful" in choosing buyer countries than some critics implied because it was careful not to encourage war zones. France is one of the world's largest arms exporters.

CS0: 5200/2636

SPACE ARMS

FRANCE TO CONSIDER USE OF SPACE

LD040937 Paris Domestic Service in French 0900 GMT 4 Jun 85

[Text] For the first time in France there is talk of giving a space dimension to defense. Charles Hernu has decided to set up a joint organization from the Army Headquarters and the Delegation Generale pour l'Armement. This body will have the task of submitting proposals to the defense minister on space matters. In an interview in the magazine L'ARMEE D'AUJOURD'HUI, the minister of defense explains that we must prepare our presence in space, because this dimension is essential to our defense. The future, Hernu goes on to stress, does not merely mean modernizing our nuclear force, even if that force is essential. It should be recalled that the minister of defense has repeatedly explained in the last few months his view on the peaceful use of space, but one which is not, even so, demilitarized. The presence of military observation satellites, Charles Hernu says, is a factor for stability which adds to deterrence.

CSO: 5200/2636

27 June 1985

SPACE ARMS

FRG INDUSTRIALIST ON CEMA TRADE, SDI, COMPETITIVENESS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 13 May 85 pp 72-82

[Interview with Franz Josef Weisweiler, CEO of Mannesmann AG, Duesseldorf, conducted by SPIEGEL editors Rudolf Wallraf and Richard Rickelmann, date and place not given: "In Microelectronics, we are tops"]

[Text] Franz Josef Weisweiler has been CEO of Duesseldorf's Mannesmann group since July 1983, succeeding Egon Overbeck. Son of a physician in the Ruhr area town of Gladbeck, he studied mining and iron works engineering. In 1955 he started with Mannesmann as a junior executive; in 1972 he became part of management. Weisweiler, 56, proved his renowned talent for negotiating for many years in wage negotiations as chairman of the employers' association

[Question] Dr Weisweiler, in the poker game over the takeover of the Dornier Aircraft Company, Mannesmann came out second best after Daimler-Benz. Is that a personal defeat for you?

[Answer] Land boss Lothar Spaeth wanted nothing but a purely Baden-Wuerttemberg solution. He pulled out all the stops to make his dream merger come true. Our corporate headquarters is in Duesseldorf, which is why we had only a long-shot chance in Baden-Wuerttemberg.

[Question] Why did you get into the bidding anyway?

[Answer] I can't withdraw from a football game just because I know that the referee is pulling for the other side.

[Question] Spaeth has a different version. He says that he had been dropping hints about Dornier to Mannesmann one year ago.

[Answer] I know nothing about such hints. One year ago we started talks with Dornier about technological cooperation. But we found out only 2 months ago that Dornier wanted to divest itself of some of its parts. So of course, we entered the bidding.

[Question] What was it that interested the Mannesmann pipeline and machine tool construction enterprise in such an extraneous type of business?

[Answer] To remain oriented toward the future, Mannesmann has considerably broadened its activities in the areas of new technologies. Electronics, controls and systems technology already account for one-fourth of our sales. We took a close look at Dornier and found that it works in broad areas which are complementary to ours.

[Question] Such as?

[Answer] Dornier has a great development potential for software and is a leader in logistics. Mannesmann subsidiaries such as Kienzle, Demag-Systemtechnik and Hartmann & Braun would have been compatible with this. Since Dornier has as a greater R&D potential than it can market, while Mannesmann has wide experience in facilities construction and world trade, it would have been an ideal partnership. At least in Europe we would have gained a terrific position in space and satellite technology. This is Dornier's long suit, and our subsidiary ANT Nachrichtentechnik is a leader in communications technology. In looking at Dornier's activities individually, one finds that about 80 percent of them bear a close relationship with Mannesmann interests.

[Question] Does that mean that Daimler-Benz is the wrong partner for Dornier? And that Swabian vested interests are obstructing a logical merger in German industry?

[Answer] I wouldn't say that Daimler-Benz's entry into Dornier is not a logical merger. But in my opinion Dornier would have been better off with Mannesmann.

[Question] Mannesmann wants to be a technology enterprise. Having lost out with Dornier, does that mean that you have missed the boat?

[Answer] No. We have a clear picture of what our firm will look like in the future. We can implement this objective by internal growth and external additions, by buying other firms. Reorganization plans of a conglomerate are made with a long-term view and do not depend on the purchase of a single firm.

[Question] In diversifying its technology, Mannesmann took the path of least resistance: you have simply bought other firms. You are not the only one. Daimler-Benz recently took over the MTU turbine manufacturing works: Siemens has for many years joined up with futuristic enterprises in the United States. Are German firms suffering from last-minute panic and seek to join the international competition through mergers, because they did not make internal arrangements early enough?

[Answer] We are not panicking, nor surely are others. As one of the great industrialized nations, the FRG must strive to have its product spectrum reflect what is in greatest demand. As to the breadth of this spectrum, German industry is the absolute leader. Mannesmann has always had the goal of being ahead of the pack in the technology of its products. That is why we were the first steel producer to enter machine tool and facilities construction, and thereafter into electrical products and electronics.

[Question] How good or how bad are German firms in the high-tech area?

[Answer] There is no unequivocal definition for high-tech. But taking a broad view of the subject, the FRG has a very good position in it. In the use of microelectronics for instance we are tops. In electronic machinery controls, where Mannesmann has made its own innovations, we do not take a backseat either in systems or in development. But I will admit that there are areas where we came in very late.

[Question] Such as?

[Answer] In the development of microelectronics, communications technology and data processing. This includes the related secondary areas such as machines for manufacturing microelectronic components and the instrumentation to manufacture chips.

[Question] The German managers missed out on development. Is the reason for this, as former Chancellor Schmidt sees it, that they are not as good as their colleagues in the United States and Japan?

[Answer] If we weren't as good, then German industry would not constantly achieve trade surpluses. Despite the fact that we are more expensive than others. There is so much demand for our products that they are easily sold on the world markets despite their high prices and partially in the face of government-supported competitors. Do you call that a sign of bad management?

[Question] Then how does it happen that we are lagging behind in some high-tech areas?

[Answer] In the development of new technologies we are up against competitors who are simply in a better position than we are. American industry profits from the enormous defense technology and its research results. Our Japanese competitors benefit from the fact that their government supports specific industrial research programs. You might say that their economy is government-controlled. In addition, Japanese and U.S. domestic markets are many times the size of the German market. Anyone launching a new product in such large domestic markets has fewer problems than one who must immediately prove himself on international markets.

[Question] What is the FRG Government doing wrong? Should more funds go into defense here too, should the economy be more tightly controlled? With an arms buildup like in the United States and a controlled economy like in Japan, do you think German industry might be in better shape?

[Question] I have described the situation of the others without evaluating them. We don't want to abandon our system simply for the sake of making a better showing in one or two particular areas. We don't want any more defense industry and we don't want any control mechanisms; we can't get a larger domestic market either. We have to come up with another solution. But this is primarily a task for this country's industrial policy.

[Question] What do you suggest? Do like Spaeth and Strauss in their Laender?

[Answer] What we need is better coordination of research programs. No industrial policy can be successful if it is managed differently in every Bonn ministry and in every federal land. There must be a common effort by all concerned. The framework conditions of industrial policy must be promulgated by the economic, research and defense ministries in Bonn, the postal service and the transport ministry, in cooperation with the Laender.

[Question] "Framework conditions--" the word is being used to death. It sounds as though industry is once again trying to obtain tax exemptions or government support funds for poorly performing areas.

[Answer] Nothing of the kind. What it amounts to is that the Federal Government must make better use of the control elements at its disposal for bringing about organizational changes.

[Question] You are talking in abstracts.

[Answer] It is about time that the politicians pay specific attention to the R&D area and thus assist in restructuring the economy. Structural change can be visualized as a block of ice which is starting to melt at the bottom. The melting parts would be the obsolescent structures. Care must be taken that something new is then added at the top. However, the melting process must not be interfered with, as is so often the case here.

[Question] Where does this happen?

[Answer] Look at the European steel industry. Billions of the taxpayers' money are spent to preserve obsolete structures. The worst part of this is that other areas become sick as a result.

[Question] Could you explain?

[Answer] It is happening to us at Mannesmann just now. The regulated steel industry branches into unrestricted pipe production, even using subsidized raw materials. Two years ago a new pipe factory was built in the Saarland with the help of government subsidies. We needed this like a hole in the head. Worldwide there is a 50 percent excess capacity for large pipe. As a result we had to fire almost exactly the same number of employees as new jobs were created there. This is a good illustration of that kind of stupidity.

[Question] Too little has melted off your structural ice block. Is too little being added on top?

[Answer] Things are beginning to change, thank God. Research and Technology Minister Riesenhuber is now supporting fewer applied, but more basic research programs. The advantage of this is that it does not support one single specific project of an enterprise, but rather a broad-based development. This also avoids undue competitive excesses.

[Question] This should then do away with cases such as Siemens. This pet supplier of the railroads and the post office has during the last few decades been practically inundated with cash from Bonn's research budgets.

[Answer] I won't talk about other enterprises. But if we were to coordinate better our government-supported research with actual governmental requirements potentials in transports, postal services or defense, the Federal Government would be in a position to at least partially compensate for the shortcomings due to the small domestic market. In any case, subsidized development is actually being turned into products in this manner.

[Question] Hasn't Mannesmann had a generous share of Bonn contracts?

[Answer] That is not Mannesmann's problem. It is a problem of German industry as a whole, to bid on government high-tech projects on behalf of its own products. Many countries have standards and norms for this. The Americans especially frequently have a certain preference. German firms have to go to a lot of trouble to get a contract from one consortium or another.

[Question] What kind of projects are these--preponderantly defense contracts? Are you thinking about the Siemens-developed friend-enemy aircraft identification system which is better than the U.S. system but was turned down by NATO nevertheless?

[Answer] There are other examples. It is, for instance, very difficult to sell German hydraulics to civil aviation.

[Question] The FRG Government is forever proclaiming its strong desire that German enterprises be represented in international projects also. This is said to be the case for the U.S. space missile defense system as well. The Chancellor wants to get in on SDI so that the Germans don't miss the technology boat.

[Answer] This is the wrong thought process. Participating in a project which will become reality in any case, and looking for research objectives for the purpose of advancing technology are two entirely different things. The decision for a defense-strategic, i.e., political, program like SDI cannot be made on the basis that it will result in technological advances for civilian applications for us. It makes no more sense for me to promote space travel because I've invented the Teflon frying pan.

[Question] What benefit would there be for Germans to participate in the SDI program?

[Answer] To my way of thinking, SDI has no importance for German industry. If a political decision is made in favor of SDI, then the FRG too must benefit from civilian applications of the results. Any such participation should be made only with the proviso that we are not merely participating as subcontractors. It must not become a technological one-way street.

[Question] What kind of civilian benefits do you see coming out of SDI?

[Answer] I don't believe anyone could give you an answer to this question today. No one can predict what all could come out of such programs. Which is why I don't believe that such a program can be justified on the basis of eventual civilian benefits.

[Question] Would Mannesmann participate in the SDI program if it considers it good policy?

[Answer] Knowing too little about SDI, I cannot say whether or not our products would be appropriate.

[Question] If you could have gotten hold of Dornier, you would certainly have been in on it. Was that why you wanted to buy the aircraft factory?

[Answer] No, certainly not. It would be the height of irresponsibility to try to take over an enterprise with that in mind. Incidentally, more than 50 percent of Dornier's sales are in non-aircraft related areas. And that was the part which interested us the most.

[Question] In contrast to several of your colleagues in other technology firms you are specifically trying to distance yourself from SDI. Would that have anything to do with your trade with the East? Mannesmann is one of the big East traders, and the Soviets would probably take a dim view of your participating in U.S. defense matters.

[Answer] First, let me talk about your statement of our being a "big East trader." On the average, about one-fifth of our exports go to the European CEMA countries--8 percent of our total sales.

[Question] You are too modest. You are selling more than DM 1 billion to the East. To hang on to that, don't you have to be politically sensitive?

[Answer] Mannesmann is among those who get into political controversies now and then, as we did in the gas pipeline deal. But in our business dealings with other countries we cannot consider their preferences as to governmental systems, ideologies and religion. People who talk and trade with each other do not escalate political tensions; they reduce them.

[Question] According to a study by the FRG Ministry for Research & Technology, a number of enterprises complain about restrictions imposed by the United States concerning technology transfer. The U.S. administration worries that the Europeans, particularly the Germans, would immediately pass it all on to the East.

[Answer] Mannesmann has no complaints there. We have always been able to buy high-tech products from the Americans. I do, however, know about such complaints from other enterprises. If this should get worse, it would spell the end of free international trade. I cannot see the objective of doing this. Is Europe to shrivel up technologically, or is the purpose to prevent transfer to the CEMA countries? If it is the latter, I must say that I consider it naive to think that the Soviets could be deprived of advanced technologies through stricter embargoes.

[Question] At this very moment the Americans want to tighten up the so-called CEMA List, with the result that still less high-tech could be exported to the East. Can you see a loss of business in this for Mannesmann and the German East traders?

[Answer] Negligible. We in the West are forever underestimating the East bloc's high-tech capabilities. The Russians develop a lot of things; others they obtain despite CEMA. Technically they have progressed to the point that in giving us a contract they insist that we do not include components which could not be delivered due to a U.S. embargo. When in doubt, they contribute these components themselves.

[Question] In other words, business as usual. You make your sales, even if they benefit the Soviet arms buildup.

[Answer] Why this hidden reproach? If trade with the East is to be viewed as narrowly as is done by many a U.S. politician, the Americans would have to stop their wheat sales too. Let us not fool ourselves: any truck that is exported could easily be put to use by the army. Machines designed to produce lipstick tubes can stamp out cartridge cases just as easily. All past experience points to the fact that embargoes cannot be enforced.

[Question] You are referring to Reagan's boycott in the gas pipeline deal?

[Answer] He shot himself in the foot with this. It is true that because of the embargo, U.S. firms were unable to deliver certain items. So the Soviets went elsewhere to buy them--Japan, as far as I know. The pipeline was completed on time anyway.

[Question] Wouldn't you have to worry that because of SDI and possible German participation Moscow would drastically reduce its orders?

[Answer] I cannot imagine that the Russians would let themselves be influenced by that. At the moment we are negotiating with the USSR about delivery of a complete pipe factory. The Russians have already told us that under their next 5-year plan they will build several transmission lines also.

[Question] If you sell complete pipe factories to the Soviets, aren't you cutting down your own future sales to Moscow?

[Answer] We do not have to worry about that. The USSR has an enormous need for pipe. And despite increased competition, particularly with the Japanese, our business relations with the East have remained smooth over the last few decades. The West, in contrast, has gradually reduced its demand for pipe.

[Question] What is the reason for this? The declining oil business?

[Answer] Yes, but only partially. But there are atmospheric disturbances also. We had envisioned once to split our major pipe exports evenly between East and West. Apart from the North Sea, we were of course thinking also of Alaska and Canada. But the Americans kept changing the specifications for their trans-continental oil lines until their own manufacturers could enter the bidding also. If the pipelines had been left in their optimum configuration, only the Japanese or Mannesmann would have had a chance.

[Question] What does that mean to Mannesmann?

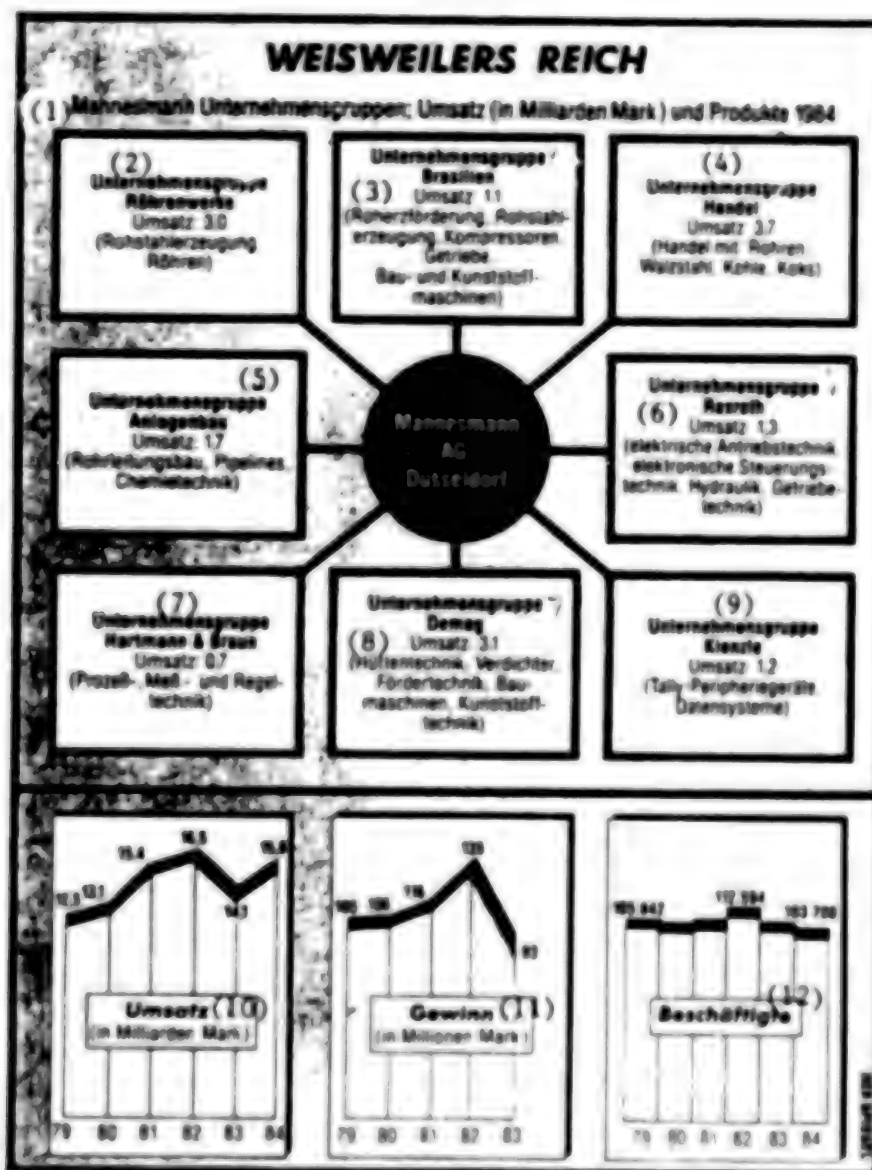
[Answer] If the orders from the West continue to be so meager, we will have to adapt our capacities.

[Question] Do you have plans for laying off workers?

[Answer] No, but as far as pipe manufacture goes in the future, all I can say is: it depends. In the other two-thirds of our organization we are even hiring additional people just now.

[Question] Thank you for the interview, Herr Weisweiler.

Figure 1: Weisweiler's Empire



Key:

Weisweiler's Empire

1. Mannesmann Subsidiaries; Sales (in billion DM) and Products, 1984
2. Pipe Manufacturing Group: Sales: 3.0 (steel production, pipe)
3. Brazil Group: Sales: 1.1 (iron mining, steel production, compressors, transmissions, construction and plastics machinery)
4. Trade Group: Sales: 3.7 (trade in pipe, rolled steel, coal, coke)
5. Facilities Construction Group: Sales: 1.7 (pipe transmission lines, pipelines, chemical technology)
6. Rexroth Group: Sales: 1.3 (electric motors, electronic control technology, hydraulics, transmission technology)
7. Hartmann & Braun Group: Sales: 0.7 (process, measuring and controls technology)
8. Demag Group: Sales: 3.1 (mining technology, compressors, conveyor systems, construction machinery, plastics technology)
9. Kienzle Group: Sales: 1.2 (tally-periphery instruments, data systems)
10. Sales (in billion DM)
11. Earnings (in million DM)
12. Employees

9273

CSO: 5200/2616

SPACE ARMS

DANISH MINISTER MEETS FRANCE'S DUMAS, SUPPORTS EUREKA

AU311816 Paris AFP in English 1810 GMT 31 May 85

[Text] Paris, May 31 (AFP) -- Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen today expressed his nation's support for Eureka, France's proposed European high technology research program, after meeting French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

"Eureka fits very well into our concept of how Europe should evolve," Mr Ellemann-Jensen said, praising the "civilian and peaceful" project which is viewed as Europe's alternative to the U.S. space-based Strategic Defense Initiative, or "star wars" program. He said his country was preparing a report on the technological and research sectors where Denmark could contribute to Eureka. Denmark was especially interested in the project since it was open to countries outside the 10-nation European Economic Community (EEC), he said. Norway and Sweden, Scandinavian nations with which Denmark maintains close ties, have also expressed interest in the project, he said.

Commenting on EEC issues, Mr Ellemann-Jensen spoke against institutional reforms for the organization, which are likely to be brought up at the European Council meeting in Milan next month.

CSO: 5200/2636

SPACE ARMS

FINLAND'S LEADING PAPER ON U.S., USSR DISPUTE OVER SDI

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 May 85 p 2

[Editorial: "Star Wars a Problem to Democracy"]

[Text] This week the two leading super-powers will continue disarmament negotiations in Geneva after a spring break. At least in public, the discussion during the break has not fully developed the weapons restriction considerations and, particularly not, the concepts of star wars, the American Space Defense Initiative, SDI.

The confusion caused by the star wars concept was particularly obvious during the week-end meeting of the European NATO member countries in Stuttgart. No uniform approach was found to the invitation to join in the research of star wars presented by the United States almost as a demand. On the contrary, while the right-wing parties of West Germany and Italy spoke in favor of joint research efforts, the elected representatives in three member-countries were strongly opposed to participation in the research. Greece would probably have joined France, Norway and Denmark if it had been represented in the meeting.

What was strange in the speeches of the elected representatives was that the emphasis was focused on the military aspects of star wars. For the representatives, it was sufficient grounds to reject the plan on the basis of the more and more prevalent idea that the space defense system is not one-hundred percent effective and the general recognition of the tendency of the star wars to begin a new armament competition.

The most difficult problem in the discussion by the politicians is, however, the transfer of the decision making process from the political decision makers to the military. It is recognized that the basic principle of star wars is extreme speed and the activation of defense operations in a few minutes after the reconnaissance satellites in space have observed the firing of the enemy's missiles. The purpose is to destroy the enemy's missiles during the launch so that the nuclear warheads will fall in the aggressor's territory.

It cannot be imagined that a president or a cabinet, not to speak of an entire parliament, could receive information about the enemy's attack, discuss it, and make their decision concerning the starting of the defense operation, all within approximately two minutes. The decisionmaking will be transferred to the military and, particularly, to the commander of the electronic warfare and space control station of each superpower.

If the U.S. Congress gives its blessing to the space defense system, it yields an essential part of the democracy to the military at the same time. The same transfer of power will naturally apply also to the Soviet Union, in which the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party would, against its principles, be forced to transfer essential decision making power from the party to the commander of the space control station.

As a whole, the star wars concept is a major potential threat to the political decision makers and, as a separate issue, to the American democracy. Governments cannot avoid this problem even in Europe, where the acceptance of the star wars concept would result in the parliaments of the NATO member-countries losing their independence.

Also, the star wars concept, promoted by President Ronald Reagan, could not be a completely automatic system. If it were, it would not differentiate between the strategic missiles carrying nuclear warheads and rockets carrying satellites or people into space. An automatic SDI would start a war by accident.

Recently, the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev offered an agreement on the prohibition of star wars and a radical reduction of strategic missiles. Besides the several positive aspects, Gorbachev's offer contained the undesirable idea of prohibiting research, which cannot be controlled. Therefore it is all too easy for Reagan to reject the offer made by the competing superpower.

12956
CSO: 5200/2627

SPACE ARMS

JAPANESE DEFENSE CHIEF TO DISCUSS SDI IN U.S.

OW300843 Tokyo KYODO in English 0830 GMT 30 May 85

[Text] Tokyo, 30 May (KYODO)--Koichi Kato, state minister and director general of the Japanese Defense Agency, will discuss the strategic defense initiative (SDI) in talks in the United States with Pentagon officials, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said Thursday.

SDI, the U.S. space-based anti-missile project, is "a matter of great interest to both countries," spokesman Yoshio Hatano emphasized.

Kato's trip to America 7-17 June would be "a suitable occasion to talk about SDI," Hatano told a news conference.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman asserted that a trip to Tokyo by key SDI expert James A. Abrahamson, director of the Defense Department's Strategic Defense Initiative Organization, "has not been cancelled."

Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe said recently a visit by Abrahamson or other SDI experts from the United States was unlikely.

During his American trip, Kato plans to confer with Pentagon Chief Caspar Weinberger, who has called on NATO allies, Japan and Israel, to indicate their stance on participation in SDI research.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Hatano stressed that Japan plans to learn more about SDI from the United States before making a formal decision on the invitation.

CSO: 5200/02

SPACE ARMS

CHINESE PRESS COMPARES 'STAR WARS' AND 'EUREKA'

HK300311 Beijing REMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 May 85 p 6

["News Analysis" by Zhang Zihua: "'Eureka' and 'Star Wars'"]

[Text] The proposal of the U.S. "star wars" project has evoked continuous repercussions in the Western European Union [WEU]. For months, Western European countries have been talking about it; some are for it, others have reservations, and still others are doubtful. And almost at the same time, France has proposed its "Eureka" project; thus, facing the Western European countries are two similar but opposite projects for the development of new technology, which has made the discussion of the "star wars" project all the more delicate and complicated.

As is known to all, the U.S. "star wars" project is an attempt to form a screen in space to fend off Soviet nuclear missiles with advanced technology of nonnuclear weapons, with the aim of destroying Soviet nuclear weapons in space. To achieve this aim, the United States has drawn up a tremendous research project, and has formally invited all Western European countries to participate in the research. Meanwhile France's "Eureka" project proposes Western European countries establish a "European research coordinating organ" to cooperate in the research and development in the fields of opto-electronics, new materials, large-type electronic computers, high-power lasers and particles, artificial intelligence, and high-speed microelectronics. Regarding their essences, despite French assertions that its proposal has no direct connection with the "star wars" project, the realms of cooperation proposed are basically similar to the "star wars" project, and are identical with Japan's items for development through scientific research by the end of the year 2000. No wonder that the "Eureka" project has been regarded as "something in defense of France's rejection of the U.S. strategic plan."

At first, the U.S. "star wars" project brought about people's warm concern and discussions, and some countries showed interest in the U.S. invitation to the participate in the research, while France's "Eureka" project was given the cold shoulder. But in the past month, there has been some change in the situation. France and some North European countries have openly expressed their refusal to participate in the U.S. research project, while some countries have only expressed their general support of the project. West Germany, which used to be comparatively enthusiastic about taking part in the U.S. research project, is beginning to show its doubts, seeing that other Western European countries are not so enthusiastic about it. At least, they decided to adopt a "common position"; but then there has been difficulty in reaching this "common position." Recently, the WEU decided by ballot to postpone the debate on the "star wars" till December 1985, and it seems that the project will be "frozen" for the time being, while France's "Eureka" has tended to gain some momentum. West Germany has openly expressed its interest in the project, while the United Kingdom has turned from being indifferent to enthusiastic, and Italy has also expressed in earnest its readiness to participate in it. For this, frequent diplomatic activities have been unfolded, and efforts have been made to make organization preparations for this project.

But how did this come about? Comparing the two projects, "star wars" is purely military, while "Eureka" is for both military and civilian purposes. "Star wars" will inevitably lead to a new arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. At the same time, it will also lead to a "disjunction" between the United States and Western Europe in defense, while the independent nuclear power of France and the United Kingdom will lose its function. Obviously, too many big problems will be involved. While "Eureka" may be used to develop military technology in space, the greater part of it can be used in developing science and technology for civilian use. Not only will it avoid the series of difficult problems mentioned above, but it will also push ahead the unanimity of Western Europe in the development of science and technology, and be very helpful in shortening the gap between Western Europe and the United States and Japan. For some time, the EEC countries have made efforts of all kinds for this; obviously, France's project conforms to the wishes of all Western European countries.

To participate in the U.S. "star wars" project, and to share the results of U.S. technology is really an enticing prospect. However, will the United States really let the Western European countries have a slice of the cake? Regarding the issue of weapons sales, the Western European countries and the United States have bargained repeatedly over the years, but the result has always been a singletrack, with the United States selling more and Western Europe selling less. Now, if Western Europe takes part in the "star wars" project as a small partner, is there any guarantee that the United States will not monopolize it in the end? Will it not become another single track with endless numbers of qualified Europeans, European technology, and European funds flowing into the United States, with Europe becoming just "contractors" to the United States or "processing factories"? Such worries on the part of the Western European countries is not without grounds. The "star wars" project is inferior to the "Eureka" project, because the latter is entirely Europeanized, and will help to unify Europe in mastering the most advanced technology. But what is more important is that the participation in the U.S. "star wars" will make Europe dependent on the United States for a long time, and they will be restricted by the United States strategically and lose their independent status, while the successes of "Eureka" will strengthen not only the unifying of Europe, but also its independent status.

France's "Eureka" proposal is quite a blow to the U.S. project; at the same time it is a difficult problem compelling its Western European partners to make their own choice. Comparing the two projects, despite all the French project's advantages, it is, however, a long-term benefit and a tentative idea for the distant future; it is not like the U.S. project, an experiment that can be put into practice any time, with special funds already allotted to it (25 billion), and ready personnel (organs already established). Is the best policy to seek far and wide for what lies close at hand? Therefore, some Western European countries are trying their best to avoid making a choice between the two, and to have a foot in both camps. Take West Germany for instance, it has expressed support for France's project, holding that Europe should develop its own technology, but it has simultaneously shown a certain enthusiasm for the U.S. invitation, hoping that the United States will provide West Germany with conditions "on an equal footing" for participating in the research and sharing the technological results. Other Western European countries are taking a similar position.

The United States is not in a position to say anything against France's "Eureka" project, and what concerns it is winning the support of Western Europe for its "star wars" project. As long as "Eureka" does no harm to this objective, the United States will not oppose it. The chief target of the Soviet Union is to upset the U.S. "star wars" project, and it has had no time yet to consider "Eureka." Most likely, the Soviet Union will make use of the contradictions between the two projects to achieve its own aims. Therefore, in dealing with these two projects, the relationship among the various countries is very complicated and the situation is rather delicate.

CSO: 5200/4042

SPACE ARMS

BRIEFS

PORTUGAL SUPPORTS U.S. SDI PROPOSAL--Portuguese Minister Rui Machete today conveyed to his U.S. counterpart, Caspar Weinberger, the Portuguese Government's backing, in principle, for the Strategic Defense Initiative, the defense minister's office disclosed today. In reply to a letter from Weinberger, Machete said that a final formulation of the Portuguese stand toward SDI, better known as "star wars," would be made easier if members of the Portuguese scientific establishment went to the United States to find out in which areas Portugal can contribute. [Text] Lisbon Domestic Service in Portuguese 2000 GMT 5 Jun 85]

AUSTRALIA FEARS NEW ARMS RACE--The foreign affairs minister, Mr Hayden, has underlined fears that America's Strategic Defense Initiative, involving weapons in space, will begin a new arms race. Speaking in Adelaide, Mr Hayden said the American plan might end in violations of international agreements regarding outer space. He reaffirmed the Australian Government's stance about participating in research for the space defense program. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 31 May 85 BK]

CSO: 5200/4329

SALT/START ISSUES

BRIEFS

AUSTRALIA FOR CONTINUING SALT II--Australia has called on the United States and the Soviet Union to continue their present policies of adhering to the terms of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [as heard] known as SALT II. The SALT II Agreement, which was signed in 1979, but never ratified, expires at the end of this year. A statement issued by the prime minister's office in Canberra says the agreement is far from ideal as a measure of nuclear arms control, but its key provisions serve as an important framework of constraint. It says SALT II also imparts the valuable degree of predictability to the future evolution of strategic forces. The statement says Australia appreciates American concern about Soviet compliance with arms controls agreements, including SALT II. Nevertheless, Australia believes that the Soviet Union has adhered to the broad terms of SALT II, and its predecessor, SALT I. The statement says that as far as Australia is aware, the Soviet Union is not contemplating steps which could seriously destabilize the strategic balance. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 7 Jun 85 BK]

CSO: 5200/4333

~~INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES~~

GORBACHEV SAID TO DISCUSS ANDROPOV MISSILE OFFER

PM040917 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 31 May 85 p 11

[Dispatch by Sandro Viola: "Gorbachev Revives Andropov Proposal Over Compromise"]

[Excerpts] Moscow -- Mr Craxi's departure from the Soviet capital yesterday morning further emphasized certain strange, idyllic elements that now seem to characterize relations between the Moscow leadership and the Rome government. The signs of respect and sympathy for the guests could not have been more conspicuous, in fact.

The aim and the possible result of the Soviets' courting of our government will become apparent in the near future. For the time being one can simply observe the unexpected cordiality which the Soviets decided to impart to their relations with Italy. On this count alone, the outcome of Craxi's Moscow visit would have been considerable. Indeed, a serious political dialogue with the communist superpower can be useful both to our government and to our allies. But other signs also emerged from the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. Nothing spectacular, it is true, but nevertheless, there are points of some political significance.

For instance, the reemergence of the so-called "Andropov proposal." At the end of 1983 Andropov offered to reduce the number of SS-20's in Europe -- on the condition that NATO relinquished the deployment of its new missiles -- to the level of the Franco-British nuclear forces. That proposal was rejected both by the United States and by France and Britain, but not before creating favorable interest in Italy and the FRG. At the Kremlin the day before yesterday Gorbachev raised the issue again in his talks with the Italians, and mentioned it again later in his dinner toast.

CSO: 5200/2637

MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS

MOSCOW BLAMES LACK OF PROGRESS ON NATO

LD241515 Moscow WORLD Service in English 1310 GMT 24 May 85

[Text] The Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries involved in the talks on mutual cuts in the armed forces and arms in Central Europe began another round of discussions in Vienna on Thursday. Our commentator, Viktor Olinchev, makes these remarks:

The current round is the 36th of its kind since the talks began almost 12 years ago. This is a marathon distance in terms of time, but in actual fact, no progress has been made, and not for lack of opportunities. There have been plenty of opportunities for headway, but the NATO countries refused to utilize them. They kept rejecting every initiative advanced by the Warsaw Treaty countries, without offering anything realistic in return.

The position of the Soviet Union and its allies is plain and lucid. Their main efforts on the international scene are focussed on removing the military threat. This approach also determines their stand at the Vienna talks, whose objective is to bring down the level of military confrontation in Central Europe. It hardly needs saying that agreement on the subject would help bridle the arms race and improve the general situation in Europe and in the rest of the world. The Warsaw Treaty countries seek no advantages for themselves; they base their policy on the approximate balance of strength as it exists today and, incidentally, the Western side has more than once acknowledged that this balance does exist. All the proposals put forth by the Soviet Union and its allies take into account the principle of equal security. Aware that the problem is by no means simple, they suggested partial measures and were even ready to strike a compromise just to take the talks out of the deadlock. Their goodwill was specifically demonstrated in 1979 when the Soviet Union in its unilateral move decided to pull out some of its troops and arms, including tank units, from Central Europe. In February this year, the Warsaw Treaty countries advanced a new initiative: They put before the Vienna forum a draft agreement binding the Soviet Union and the United States to carry out initial cuts in their ground troops and arms in Central Europe, with a clause for no future increases in the armed forces and arms in the region. The proposal incorporated appropriate measures for control. Several months have passed since but the NATO countries have still to reply to it, although the initiative takes into account a number of elements of the Western position.

Or take another proposal formulated by the Soviet Union and its allies which also had directly to do with the Vienna talks. the proposal for an agreement between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on mutual renunciation of military force. In other words, a commitment not to use nuclear or conventional weapons or military force in general. And again, there has been no response from the West. Meanwhile NATO's military bodies, meeting in Brussels over the past few days, have decided on a further build-up in conventional arms in Europe, including its most sensitive central part.

Lessons of the Second World War serve as a reminder of what happened when large quantities of weapons got concentrated in that area, and that time not only Europe, the whole world suffered. Isn't it time to give the matter serious thought?

CSO: 5200/1222

MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS

GDR REPRESENTATIVE COMMENTS ON TALKS

LD240553 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1735 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Vienna, 23 May (ADN) — The Vienna MBFR negotiations were resumed on Thursday. At the start of the 36th round, Ambassador Andre Wieland, head of the GDR delegation, said, on behalf of the socialist countries, there was every reason to recall the lessons of the events of 40 years ago. Peace gained at such great sacrifices at that time was today, through no fault of the socialist states, more in jeopardy than ever. Hence, the danger of a war had to be fought irrespective of all differences. It was in this spirit that the Warsaw Pact states conducted all the disarmament negotiations.

Their willingness for dialogue, above all disarmament dialogue aiming at success, while observing the principles of equality and mutual security, had been affirmed only recently at the meeting of the highest representatives of the Warsaw Pact in the Polish capital. The latest appeal of the Soviet party and state leadership to all the peoples, parliaments and governments, which was wholeheartedly supported by the GDR pointed in the same direction.

This appeal was specifically directed at the participants in the Vienna negotiations and called for immediate measures in order to achieve mutually acceptable agreements. It was with this intention that the socialist states entered the new round of negotiations.

Ambassador Wieland recalled that the two sides had agreed 12 years ago on the mandate for these negotiations, to achieve urgent steps for the reduction of military confrontation in central Europe. However, since then the negotiations had been accompanied, not by a reduction of weapons arsenals, but by their increase. The proposal of the socialist countries of 14 February this year was likely to lead the Vienna negotiations onto fruitful tracks.

This proposal provides for an agreement that fixes, as a first step, a reduction of troops and armaments of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union by 20,000 men and the United States by 13,000 men and which subsequently places the obligation on all the participants not to increase armed forces and armaments in this region.

All the questions by the Western side concerning this draft agreement had meanwhile been answered. Leading Western politicians have commented approvingly on the draft.

The negotiating table would now have to show, the GDR ambassador said, whether the West was prepared to agree to the introduction of uncomplicated and practical measures aimed at reduction.

CSO: 5200/3049

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

SOVIET COMMENTS ON U.S. DECISION TO PRODUCE BINARY CHEMICAL ARMS

Research Dangers Noted

LD161000 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 16 May 85

[Text] San Francisco May 16 TASS--TASS correspondent Yuriy Ustimenko reports:

The sound of alarm interrupted the guide in mid-sentence when he was trying to prove that the Pentagon's chemical weapon depots, sited in different parts of the country, were "harmless and safe." The visitors were hurriedly issued gas masks and guided into a shelter where depot personnel, evidently needing no special invitation, had already assembled.

Such was the inglorious end of a visit made to the chemical arms depot in Toole (Utah state) by a delegation of five American states--Utah, Kentucky, Alabama, Arkansas and Oregon. According to plan, the guests were to see for themselves that chemical arms depots in the territories of these states represented no hazard to their populations. But a poisonous gas leak proved the contrary. The incident took place within 50 kilometres of Salt Lake City.

The American military is pressing forward with its preparations for chemical war. According to the LOS ANGELES TIMES the Pentagon's spending on research on new types of chemical weapons in the next fiscal year and establishment of chemical arms production complexes, manufacture of binary munitions filled with nerve gas as well as artillery shells and airbombs is to be twice as great as appropriations requested by the U.S. Administration for the current year. Thus, 207 million dollars, the newspaper says, are to be spent on these purposes in the 1986 fiscal year.

Review Commission Recommends Buildup

PM141449 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 May 85 Second Edition p 5

[Vladimir Sukhoy "Commentator's Column": "Chemical Arsenal Buildup"]

[Text] The special commission on chemical weapons problems set up by the White House chief has prepared a report which contains the recommendation to start immediate production of the latest types of nerve-paralyzing binary ammunition.

The commission, which is completely financed by the Pentagon and comprises supporters of the administration's military programs, has merely "earned its keep." Referring as usual to the imaginary U.S. "lag" in this sphere, it "substantiated" the accelerated modernization of the already huge U.S. chemical arsenal.

What next? Now the legislators on Capital Hill will be regaled with the commission's "objective" conclusions, in order to secure from them the allocation of \$163 million for the production of binary ammunition in fiscal 1986. This is \$58 million more than the amount the White House requested from Congress in the current fiscal year. Washington intends to spend these funds mainly on creating capacities for the mass production of binary weapons at the chemical complex in Pine Bluff (Arkansas).

The production of binary ammunition is just part of the Pentagon's large-scale program for America's "chemical rearmament." By 1987 the military department intends to spend around \$10 billion on the development and production of new chemical weapons, although there are already around 150,000 metric tons of combat toxins and over 3 million chemical shells, missiles, aerial bombs, and mines in the U.S. arsenal. According to the U.S. ARMED FORCES JOURNAL, tests of new superhigh-toxicity poisons are being carried out on military test sites in Dugway and Toole (Utah), Aberdeen (Maryland) and Fort McClellan (Alabama).

In an attempt to disguise the course of building up chemical weapons, the administration is resorting to its favorite device--verbal trickery. From time to time, to the accompaniment of the din of propaganda drums, Washington announces "initiatives" for the elimination of certain chemical stockpiles and even gives loud assurances of its readiness to "hold talks on banning" chemical weapons. But words are as far as things get. As the facts show, the United States is on the contrary constantly expanding its stockpiles of lethal toxins which are capable of destroying all life on our planet many times over. That is why the demands of progressive mankind to draft and conclude an international convention on banning and eliminating chemical weapons are so urgent today.

Review Commission Members Hit

LD211512 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 21 May 85

["Chemical Warfare Review Commission: Whose Interests Does It Represent?"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS--TASS scientific commentator Petr Akimov writes: The Reagan administration is doing everything to step up chemical weapons production. This is confirmed also by the make-up of a chemical warfare review commission it has formed. When setting it up, the White House promised it would be an independent bipartisan task force expressing the interests of Congress and the public. Moreover, the Americans were assured that it would not include chemical weapons backers. The promises and assurances, however, have turned out empty.

27 June 1985

The nine-member commission led by former Under Secretary of State Walter Stoessel includes former Commander-in-Chief of NATO's Armed Forces Alexander Haig. He has earned ill fame for his utterly false report to Congress three years ago, claiming that chemical and toxin weapons have been used in Laos and Kampuchea and alleging the USSR's involvement in those practices. The report has been exposed by specialists, including American experts, as being unfounded. It pursued the clear aim of smearing the Soviet Union, accusing it of violating the Geneva Protocol of 1925, giving America grounds for renouncing a full ban on chemical weapons and thus untying the hand of the American proponents of a bigger chemical weapons potential.

Another commission member is Zbigniew Brzezinski, a former assistant to the president for national security affairs who is a committed advocate for the arms race and conflict cultivation. No matter how eager one could be to do so, one may not call him an opponent of chemical weapons.

Still another commission member, John Gester, has been involved in the American military's crimes, notably in its chemical war in Vietnam. The interests of the Pentagon, which is at pains to give a boost to the chemical capability of the American Army, are represented also by Richard Cavazos. Two other men, Barber Conable and John Erlenborn, have gained notoriety for their speeches in the House of Representatives for the deployment of binary chemical weapons.

No matter from which side it is approached, the commission consists exclusively of champions of chemical weapons.

Its composition spells out better than any words the true intentions of the incumbent administration, which are to shape American public opinion as needed and obtain the go-ahead for the manufacture of new kinds of chemical weapons by fair means or foul, although even today the United States has an enormous arsenal of highly-toxic chemical warfare agents, including all known super-toxic substances. U.S. Army storages hold 55,000 tons of poisons, 150,000 tons of chemical munitions, more than three million shells, tens of thousands of bombs, and a multitude of other types of weapons of mass annihilation. Their amount is enough to poison the entire planet several times. And their very storage poses constant danger to the population. This is why demands are mounting all over the world, including the United States itself, to ban and eliminate chemical weapons altogether.

Senate Approves Funding

LD230710 Moscow TASS in English 0611 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Washington May 23 TASS--The U.S. Senate approved on Wednesday the administration's request for allocating, under the military budget for the 1986 fiscal year, about 163 million dollars for the production of nerve toxic agents. These funds are to be used to build facilities for the production of binary ammunition at the chemical complex in Pine Bluff (Arkansas State).

Already at this state the United States has the world's biggest chemical arsenals. Experts estimate its chemical weapon stockpiles at over 150,000 tons and the number of chemical ammunition at over 3 million units.

Senate Votes to Resume Production

LD231806 Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 23 May 85

[Commentary by Yuriy Reshetnikov]

[Text] The U.S. Senate voted Wednesday in favor of resuming production of chemical weapons. If the bill is approved by the House of Representatives, the United States will shortly embark on a massive program of chemical re-equipment of its army. Our observer, Yuriy Reshetnikov, comments on the issue.

Although the House of Representatives has consistently rejected any such appropriation for the last 3 years, the administration seems determined to push the bill through Congress. The Senate vote in favor of the administration's chemical program was preceded by massive White House pressure. A special ad hoc commission was set up which issued its recommendations to proceed immediately with the production of the latest types of chemical weapons. As usual in such cases, the commission invoked the specter of Soviet threat in this area as the basic reason for needing the United States' chemical re-equipment. On the basis of these recommendations the U.S. Administration will seek from Congress \$163 million to be appropriated next fiscal year, beginning 1 October. This is \$58 million more than the amount requested by the administration a year before. Washington intends to spend this money on the creation of chemical production facilities at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, the Pentagon's long-time pet project, designed to launch a mass production of binary weapons.

The production of binary weapons, however, is not the ultimate goal. In fact, it is only a minute part of a wide-ranging Pentagon program of chemical re-equipment. It has been revealed in Washington that the U.S. military intends to spend, in the next few years, around \$10 billion for those purposes, and that despite the fact that the United States possesses the world's biggest arsenal of chemical weapons. Even by conservative estimates of Western experts, U.S. chemical stockpiles amount to more than 150,000 tons, with the total number of munitions approximating 3 million rounds. This is more than enough to wipe out every living organism in the world. The 1925 Geneva protocol outlawed the use of chemical weapons and, while the Soviet Union was one of the first nations to sign the document and adhere to its provisions, it took the United States 50 years to ratify it. In the meantime, American troops poured thousands of tons of deadly chemicals into Indochina, killing thousands of people and causing irreparable damage to its environment. Even today, while ostensibly favoring a chemical weapons' ban, the U.S. Administration has virtually blocked an early international treaty to gradually do away with such weapons. The U.S. stand on the issue has been made, once again, crystal clear at this week's NATO meeting in Brussels. Instead of looking for ways to reach an agreement on banning chemical weapons, the U.S. defense secretary, Caspar Weinberger, urged his

fellow NATO partners to build up their stockpiles in Europe. Washington's determination to pursue its chemical weapons re-equipment program, like nothing else, effectively pre-empts its claims to be genuinely interested in seeking international accords on banning chemical weapons.

Research, Stockpiling Described

LD232059 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] New York May 23 TASS--On Wednesday the U.S. Senate endorsed the administration's request for about 163 million dollars for the further production of chemical weapons. In accordance with the Pentagon's plans, the United States is building up the so-called "binary" chemical weapons of neuro-paralytic effect. This is a new mass destruction weapon which is intended to kill everything living during offensive operations. The transition to "binary" chemical weapons is being effected under the so-called programme for the modernisation of the U.S. military-chemical arsenal. The cost of the programme is about 10,000 million dollars. The stocks of chemical munitions are to be enlarged from the present three million up to five million units in the USA in the course of five years, from 1982 to 1986.

According to U.S. press reports, greater scope is being given at the same time to research to create for the Pentagon superhigh-toxicity chemical agents against which there is no protection so far. The Pentagon has sited a considerable part of chemical weapons in Western Europe so as to constantly threaten the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with the use of the barbarous weapons of mass destruction.

Washington's spokesmen, in an attempt to justify the build-up of new types of chemical weapons of mass destruction, are stating that they only seek to have "trump cards" for talks with the Soviet Union on the prohibition of chemical means of warfare. But this contradicts facts. The Soviet Union has been and is in favour of complete elimination of chemical weapons. Bilateral talks between the United States and the Soviet Union with a view to working out a joint position on this matter were started as far back as 1976 on the USSR's initiative and with the backing of the world public. However, after delays and procrastinations by Washington, the talks were interrupted in 1980 through the fault of the United States. Up to this date the U.S. Administration has been declining to resume them.

CSO: 5200/1217

NUCLEAR-FREE-ZONE PROPOSALS

STUDENTS TAKE STAND ON NUCLEAR TESTING, WARSHIPS

Port Horesby PAPUA NEW GUINEA POST COURIER in English 13 May 85 p 9

[Text]

The National Union of Students has pledged to fight harder against nuclear testing and nuclear armed warships in the Pacific.

A public awareness campaign will be launched with human rights organisations, trade unions, international student groups and the melanesian Council of Churches asked to be involved.

The NUS president, Mr Daniel Opear, said in Lae that the nuclear issue was important to students and their parents.

The NUS was against nations like the United States, which sent nuclear-armed warships to Pacific ports and France for its continuous tests at sites like the Mururoa Atoll.

"These superpowers have gone ahead and don't give a damn about the local people," he said.

And he called on the Prime Minister to explain why he had implied that these type of "inhuman" activities should continue in the region.

"It is about time the PNG Government made its stand clear on the nuclear waste issue and nuclear warships," he said.

NUCLEAR-FREE-ZONE PROPOSALS

AUSTRALIAN DEFENSE MINISTER ON NUCLEAR SHIP VISITS

Conference Supports Government Policy

BK100654 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 10 Jun 85

[Text] Australia's defense minister, Mr Beazley, says any move by Australia to match New Zealand's ban on nuclear ship visits would be a useless gesture. In a speech to the annual conference of the New South Wales Branch of the Labor Party, Mr Beazley said such a ban would have no impact on the dangers of nuclear arms.

The conference has voted overwhelmingly to support existing Federal Government policy in the areas of defense and foreign affairs. It rejected a minority left-wing report which called for a review of Australia's defense alliance with the United States and New Zealand and the phasing out of American nuclear bases on Australian soil. In January, the New Zealand Labor Government banned American nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered ships from entering its ports bringing into doubt its role within the Australian-American alliance.

Sydney Visits Unlikely

BK110220 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0130 GMT 11 Jun 85

[Excerpt] The Australian defense minister, Mr Beazley, has told the New South Wales Labor conference that he does not expect nuclear-powered ships to be admitted to Sydney Harbor in the foreseeable future. Earlier, the conference endorsed the Federal Government policy of allowing nuclear-powered warships to visit Australian ports. Mr Beazley said that the general policy of allowing nuclear ships visits would not lead to those ships coming to Sydney Harbor because existing safety guidelines could not be met in that port.

CSO: 5200/4332

NUCLEAR-FREE-ZONE PROPOSALS

ICELAND: NO NUCLEAR-ARMED SHIPS INSIDE 12-MILE LIMIT

PM051217 Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 30 May 85 p 12

[RITZAUS BUREAU report: "Collision Course in the North Atlantic"]

[Text] Copenhagen -- "In accordance with our nuclear arms policy we do not want nuclear-armed ships inside our 12-mile limit," visiting Icelandic Foreign Minister Geir Hallgrimsson said in Copenhagen yesterday. Hallgrimsson, who is paying an official visit to Denmark, added, however, that the Icelandic Government does not always ask its NATO allies if their ships are nuclear-armed when they dock in Iceland. The NATO alliance was one of the topics Hallgrimsson discussed with his Danish counterpart, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen.

The question of fisheries and seabed rights was also discussed with the Danish foreign minister, Hallgrimsson said. He said that Iceland, Denmark, Ireland and Britain are on a "collision course" over the tiny North Atlantic island of Rockall, 400 km north of Ireland -- an area to which each of the countries is laying claim individually and which is of crucial importance for seabed exploitation rights. Hallgrimsson said that a meeting will be held between officials from Iceland and Denmark, which is representing the Faeroes in this matter.

"We want to bring about discussions between the four countries. We have proposed that we divide the seabed proportionately among the countries, but the other countries have shown no interest in the proposal," said Hallgrimsson, who nevertheless expressed the hope that Denmark would consider the proposal.

On the subject of the sea rights dispute over the area between Iceland and eastern Greenland, Hallgrimsson said that the matter had become a purely Nordic affair now that Greenland has left the EEC. Iceland has current plans to confirm its rights in the area by applying a thick layer of reinforced concrete to the rocky island of Kolbeinsey, which forms the basis for Iceland's 200-mile zone to the northwest. The tiny rocky island is in the process of disintegrating and disappearing completely, and this will make it difficult for Iceland to claim that the island should be taken as a point of departure for a zone demarcation line. The sea area in question is still a 9,400 square kilometer gray zone disputed by Denmark and Iceland.

Hallgrimsson confirmed that there will be a Danish-Icelandic meeting in July at which the question of rights in the area will be discussed.

CSO: 5200/2656

NUCLEAR-FREE-ZONE PROPOSALS

BRIEFS

INDIAN OCEAN MILITARIZATION FEARED—Seychelles is greatly concerned by the growing militarisation of the Indian Ocean and the threat that nuclear weapons pose, Youth and Defence Minister Ogilvy Berlouis said in New Delhi this week. Speaking at a dinner given in his honour on Tuesday by the Indian Minister of Defence, Mr Narasimha Rao, Colonel Berlouis said, "We cannot live with the perpetual threat of a nuclear holocaust." He then spoke of Seychelles's fruitful association with India and expressed the hope that bilateral relations would be further strengthened. Earlier, the Indian Defense Minister called upon countries of the Indian Ocean to fight unitedly to retain the ocean as a zone of peace. He said this must be done not only for today but also for the benefit of future generations. Mr Rao asked all nations with conscience to address themselves to the vital question of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. He then expressed confidence that the visit of Col. Berlouis would give further impetus to positive cooperation between the two countries. Col. Berlouis started a week's visit to India last Monday. [Text] [Victoria NATION in English 11 May 85 p 1]

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